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# GISCARD ELECTED IN TIGHT RACE

## A Record Turnout Points Up Division

By Jonathan C. Randal

PARIS, May 19 (WP)—Conservative Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing defeated François Mitterrand, the candidate of the united left, in an extremely close runoff election today to become president of France.

In a victory statement shortly after 11 p.m., Mr. Giscard d'Estaing sent greetings to his "unlucky competitor" and predicted that Mr. Mitterrand would have a role to play in the present and future of French politics.

Clearly reflecting the lessons of the vote, the new president promised "you will not be disappointed" by the "political, economic and social" changes he pledged during the six-week campaign.

More than an hour later, Mr. Mitterrand formally conceded the election. He attributed his defeat to a coalition of the establishment and "the powers of money" and vowed that "something has started which is not about to stop," while pleading for the left to remain united.

The Interior Ministry announced that with 98 percent of the voting stations reporting, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing had 13,214,848 votes, or 50.7 percent, to 12,842,234 or 49.3 percent, for Mr. Mitterrand. Some of the vote from the overseas territories remained to be counted but cannot affect the result.

Computer projections gave the 45-year-old finance minister the victory soon after the closing of the polls at 8 p.m. The election mobilized a record turnout, showing that interest was high and the country evenly divided. Only 12.1 percent of the registered voters abstained.

Two weeks ago, the French ended 16 years of Gaullist domination by eliminating the Gaullist candidate, Jacques Chaban-Delmas—and nine other candidates—in the first-round vote. The clear runoff message was that the country demanded change.

**Leftist Alliance**

Although Mr. Mitterrand, 57, had not yet formally conceded, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's supporters started honking their car horns and driving up and down the Avenue des Champs-Élysées around 10 p.m. in the ritual celebration of political victory.

Pending detailed analysis of the runoff vote, the narrow margin of Mr. Mitterrand's defeat was generally ascribed to the controversial alliance between the resurgent Socialists and the powerful French Communist party.

Throughout the campaign, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing and his principal lieutenants hammered incessantly at the danger of having Communists holding a third of a new government's ministries, which was implicit in a Mitterrand victory.

Spokesmen for both major leftist parties made it clear that they intend to exert maximum vigilance to oblige Mr. Giscard d'Estaing to make good on his leftist campaign promises, ranging from increased old-age pensions and minimum wages to lowering the voting age from 21 to 19.

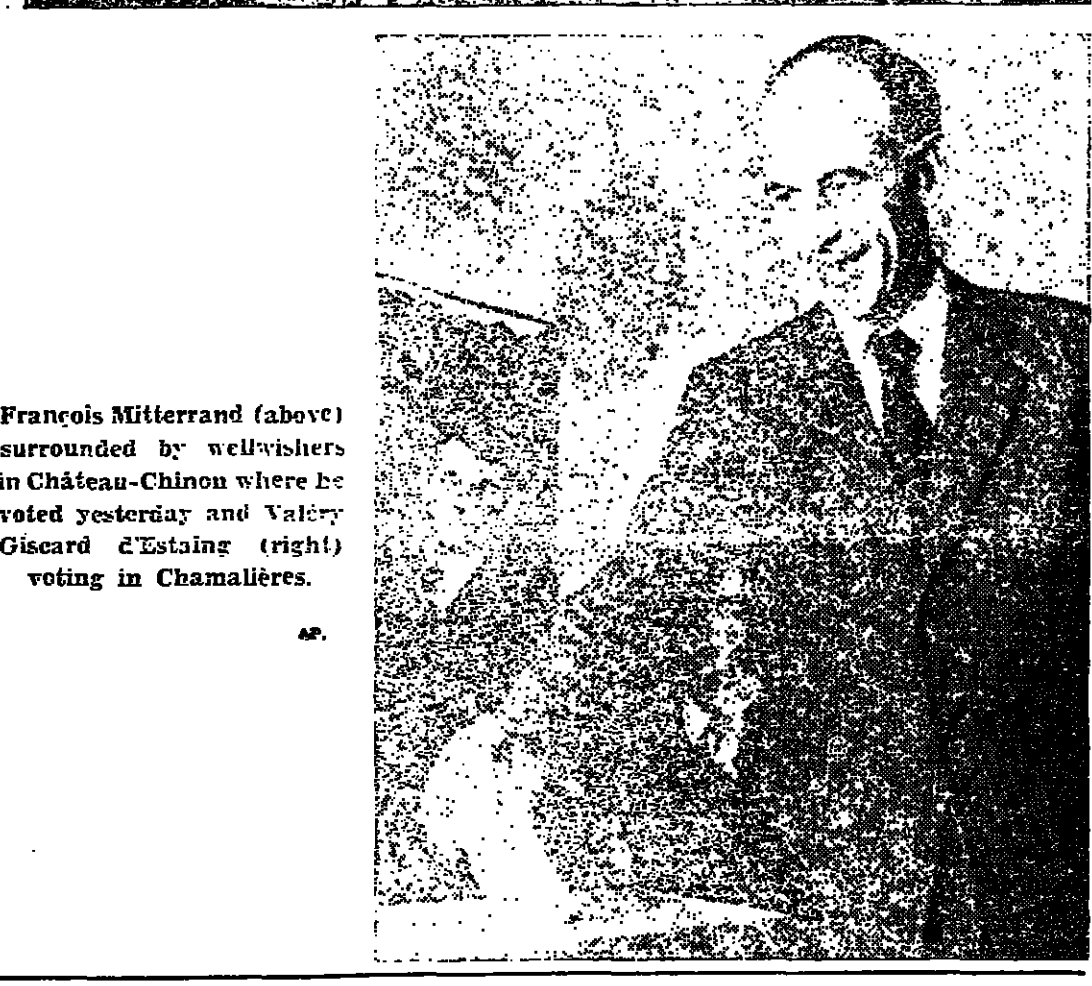
Although the left's spokesmen stressed that they would honor the election results, observers were fearful of industrial strife stemming from the closeness of the vote, inflation running at an annual rate of 17 percent and possible recession brought about by the increased costs of oil imports.

But Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's victory apparently simplified the purely political problems arising from the death of President Georges Pompidou on April 2.

**Majority Alliance**

Despite the wounds left by Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's first-round elimination of Mr. Chaban-Delmas, the new president can count on the Gaullists in the National Assembly to form a new government. The Gaullists control 181 of the assembly's 490 seats, with Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's own party—the Independent Republicans—holding 55 seats, and their new and old centrist allies accounting for 60 more deputies.

Had Mr. Mitterrand won, observers were convinced that he would have had to dissolve the National Assembly and call new legislative elections either in June or July.



François Mitterrand (above) surrounded by well-wishers in Chateau-Chinon where he voted yesterday and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (right) voting in Chamalières.

## SLA Chief, 5 Others Die in Shootout

LOS ANGELES, May 19 (UPI)—Three leading plotters in the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst—Donald David DeFreeze, Nancy Ling Perry and Patricia (Mizmoon) Soltysik—were among six Symbionese Liberation Army members killed when police stormed their hideout here late Friday. Miss Hearst herself was not among the victims.

Dr. Thomas Noguchi, Los Angeles County coroner, identified the three bodies as well as those of William Wolfe and Angela Atwood and Camilla Bell. All the bodies were severely burned in a fire that followed the shootout.

Miss Hall's body was found only late today, face down under the floor of the house. Los Angeles Police Comdr. Hagan said 18 guns had been recovered from the house, including three 30-caliber M-2 submachine guns, a Browning automatic rifle, eight sawed-off shotguns, a semiautomatic rifle, an M-1 carbine, two 330 Mauser rifles and a .38-caliber pistol. He said the serial numbers of the guns were being checked. Comdr. Hagan said three bayonets also had been found.

A spokesman for Randolph Hearst, the wealthy editor and president of the San Francisco Examiner, reported yesterday that Mr. Hearst was "extremely apprehensive" about his daughter's life.

Like millions of other Americans, Mr. Hearst and his wife watched live television broadcasts of the assault on the yellow stucco bungalow by the police and FBI agents.

DeFreeze first emerged publicly (Continued on Page 3, Col. 5)

## After He Quits Pastoral Office

### Police Take Outspoken Priest From His Church in Moscow

By Robert G. Kaiser

MOSCOW, May 19 (WP)—A popular Russian Orthodox priest who had spoken from his pulpit about controversial contemporary issues was led out of his church by Soviet police last night after announcing his resignation from his pastoral office.

The Rev. Dmitri Dudko was taken from the Church of St. Nicholas here by plainclothesmen, who led him to a waiting car. There was no indication that he had been formally arrested.

Father Dmitri had publicly ignored both religious and political traditions this winter and spring in a series of meetings with his congregation in which he discussed the state's harassment of religion, the decline of spiritual values in contemporary Russia and other touchy subjects.

Last night, Father Dmitri, 53, said he was resigning because of "the illegal interference of the godless in the internal affairs of the church"—apparently a reference to the Soviet authorities.

**500 Are Present**

Father Dmitri announced his resignation in a speech which followed the regular service, in which he played no part. About 500 persons, including many youths, were in the congregation.

## Israel Says It, Syria Can Accept Kissinger-Proposed Truce Line

By Bernard Gwertzman

JERUSALEM, May 19 (NYT)—Israel's defense minister, Moshe Dayan, said today that it and Syria could both accept the ceasefire line proposed by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. He said the line, which would clear the way for a permanent separation agreement on the Golan Heights, was "a line that both sides can live with."

Mr. Dayan's statement by Israeli Information Minister Shimon Peres followed three hours of discussions between Mr. Kissinger and his top aides on the day following the disengagement agreement now being worked out between Mr. Kissinger and the Syrians. The breakthrough achievement was announced yesterday in Damascus.

Syrian officials said that Mr. Kissinger, who now sees an end in sight, will shuttle between Damascus and Jerusalem in the evening, following a daily pattern that has been followed until the final agreement is reached.

Mr. Kissinger's dramatic development, which occurred during Mr. Kissinger's climactic talks with President Hafez al-Assad of Syria, was reported by Mr. Kissinger's spokesman to Washington.

Mr. Kissinger had thought he had to go home without a deal, but he decided to remain in Damascus, now confident that he would bring off the agreement. He reported that Israel

and the city itself will be rebuilt and resettled by the Syrians, the papers said. [The three hills guard the three forwardmost Israeli settlements established by Israel in the area since it captured the heights. They overlook Kuneitra and the road to Damascus.]

**Demarcation Line**

Until yesterday, the key issue holding up a breakthrough was the small but significant difference between Syria and Israel over the placement of the demarcation line marking the extent of Israeli withdrawal from occupied Syrian territory. Mr. Kissinger had let it be known that he believed he could negotiate the rest of the disengagement agreement once he had the line worked out.

Although a senior American official had said that in geographic terms the two sides had been only a mile or so apart, Syria and Israel apparently could not bridge that gap until Mr. Kissinger offered his compromise proposal.

These were first broached in Damascus on Thursday night, discussed at length with the Israelis on Friday and tentatively accepted by Mr. Assad yesterday. Last night, Mr. Kissinger, upon his return to Israel, discussed the situation with the Israelis and the Israeli cabinet formally gave its endorsement of his compromise.

After the cabinet meeting, Mr. Kissinger and his top aides met with the Israelis for a wide-ranging discussion of the disengagement package.

**'Very Favorable'**

Following that meeting, Mr. Peres said, "The attitude of the Israeli delegation to the American proposal was a very favorable and a very positive one. I think the line which was proposed by the secretary of state is of such a nature that both sides can accept it."

Mr. Kissinger was described by an intimate today as having been "terribly depressed" yesterday morning when he thought he would probably have to return to Washington without an accord. Today, however, he was clearly in a good mood. He sat beside the King David Hotel swimming pool for part of the afternoon with his wife, Nancy, occasionally walking over to joke with a few newsmen.

But American officials, including Mr. Kissinger, continued to caution that there were still important details to be arranged on collateral issues and that it was premature to say that the agreement was wrapped up.

**Diplomatic Caution**

This was interpreted by most of the newsmen as normal diplomatic caution.

Among the items remaining on the agenda were the size of the buffer zone, that would be set up between Israeli and Syrian forces on the Golan Heights, the role for the UN to play in supervising that zone, the limit to be placed on each side's military forces in the zones adjacent to the buffer zone and the release of prisoners.

In addition, Israel in particular wants certain guarantees from the United States such as those included but not published in the Egyptian-Israeli disengagement agreement. These include willingness by the United States to conduct impartial reconnaissance flights over the area and a firm commitment by the United States that it would use its veto to prevent the dissolution of the UN force in the area.

Some essential services, such as food and drug stores, transportation and medical services were still operating. But Belfast municipal authorities warned that sewage could soon be flowing in the streets and polluting rivers. If power were to be completely shut off, there would be no drinking water.

**Minister's Mission to Mozambique, Angola**

LISBON, May 19 (UPI)—The new Portuguese government's minister for interterritorial cooperation, Antonio Santos, today left Lisbon for Angola and Mozambique to sound out the black and white populations there about their future.

His visit is part of the government's efforts to bring about peace in Portugal's African territories. Next Saturday, government representatives are to meet in London with representatives of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands to seek a cease-fire agreement for Portuguese Guinea—called Guinea-Bissau by rebels there.

The inability of the ousted government of Marcello Caetano to solve the problem of the three African insurrections was the main incentive for the army's coup on April 25.

An earlier peace mission to Mozambique involved the May 11-13 visit there by Gen. Francisco da Costa Gomes, who was defense chief in the military junta that took over in April and installed the new civilian-military regime last week.

**All Political Opinion**

Mr. Santos said that he would meet all representatives of political opinion in Angola and Mozambique and expected to spend three days in each province.

Yesterday, Gen. Franco Pinheiro, chief of Portuguese military forces in Angola, was reported to have suspended military operations against African nationalist guerrillas.

Here in Lisbon, the public information service circulated photographs of members of the disbanded state security police who had not surrendered by yesterday's deadline. Newspapers published pictures of 29 former secret policemen wanted for questioning by army officials.

Around the country, labor union members, free to organize for the first time in almost half a century, continued to hold meetings. At least 50,000 have staged walkouts to back demands for better wages and work schedules. Labor Minister Avelino Pacheco has called for urgent meetings with union leaders.

## India Tests A-Bomb Underground

NEW DELHI, May 19 (AP)—India set off its first nuclear test yesterday and became the world's sixth nuclear power. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said the test was undertaken in defiance of world opinion, which opposed the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

**Rail Strike in 13th Day**

NEW DELHI, May 19 (NYT)—The nationwide railroad strike moved into its 13th day today but there was steady improvement of passenger and freight service. A rail spokesman said that 25,000 more workers had returned to duty in the last 24 hours and that there had been "spectacular improvement" in railroad operation. But the railroad union disputed his claim and vowed to continue the strike with "full vigor."

## Ulster Strikers Cancel Threat Of Total Electricity Blackout

BELFAST, May 19 (AP)—A state of emergency was declared in Northern Ireland today and militant Protestants reacted by withdrawing threats to organize a complete power shutdown in the province beginning at midnight.

The emergency declared by Merlyn Rees, Britain's minister for Northern Ireland, empowers him to use British troops to run the province's five power stations and other essential services—many of which have already been crippled by a five-day general strike.

Within hours of his declaration, the Protestant militants' Ulster Workers Council backed off on its threat of a total electricity blackout. It said that power supplies would be maintained at a level "necessary to insure the safety of the system" and essential services.

[The workers' council said that it was withdrawing its total blackout threat on the condition that troops not be sent to the power plants, United Press International reported.]

Council sources said that power cuts would continue but that hospitals and other essential facilities would receive enough electricity to function.

The council's strike is directed at a pact signed in December between Britain, Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic which gives Roman Catholics a share in running the province and would set up a council of Ireland.

The Protestants view the pact—signed at Sunningdale, west of London—as a sellout by Britain and the first step toward a unification of Ireland.

Four of the province's power stations—two in Belfast, one at Cookstown near Londonderry and another near Larne in County Antrim—have already closed because of a walkout of stokers. A second station near Larne was still working because it is powered by oil.

**Vow by Pakistan**

AHORE, Pakistan, May 19 (AP)—Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said today that Pakistan would never succumb to "clear blackmail" by India.

Commenting at a press conference, Mr. Bhutto said Pakistan did not surrender its rights or defend from its policies by its nuclear status.

**Protest by Japan**

OKYO, May 19 (AP)—Japan, only nation ever attacked by nuclear weapons, sharply tested India's detonation of an underground nuclear device yesterday.



## Soldiers in UN Mideast Force Recalled

## Irish Republic Starts Security Clampdown

DUBLIN, May 19 (AP)—The Irish government ordered a major security clampdown yesterday and set up new checkpoints along the border with Northern Ireland in the aftermath of Friday's terrorist bomb attacks.

At the same time, the government asked the United Nations to release 340 Irish soldiers from the Middle East peace-keeping force. The government said the soldiers will be needed to man the border checkpoints to stop and search all cars driving into the republic from the North.

In Cairo, a UN Emergency Force spokesman said Irish troops serving with the UNEF were to be repatriated from Tel Aviv on Wednesday. The Irish force manned a zone from the Mediterranean Sea in the north to a point 20 kilometers to the south in Sinai, spokesman Rudolf Stajdhar said today. All the men will leave except 40 who will look after equipment and small arms. They will be repatriated at a later date.

The checkpoints were part of an intensification of security along the 260-mile border with Northern Ireland, the main scene of the violence that spilled over into the republic Friday, killing 28 persons and wounding 150.

No Warnings Given

Three big car bombs exploded in the center of Dublin within minutes of each other at 4:30 p.m. when the district was packed with shoppers. The explosions occurred without warning, killing 23 persons, including several infants. Earlier reports had put the death toll in Dublin at 25. Another car bomb killed five persons in Monaghan, a border town.

The police believe at least eight persons were injured in Irish bombings. "We believe some of these men may still be trapped inside the republic," a police spokesman said.

At least three persons were being questioned as a result of the stringent security checks set up around the republic.

The authorities were reluctant to accuse any of the terrorist groups operating in Ireland, but they strongly suspected that Protestant extremists from Northern Ireland were behind the outrage. These extremists oppose any link with the republic.

Tougher Laws Seen

Informed sources said the government was expected to press for tougher laws against Irish Republican Army guerrillas. The Roman Catholic-dominated underground movement, fighting to drive the British from Northern Ireland and unite the province with the republic, was not blamed for Friday's blasts, but many Irishmen believed it was the IRA's presence in the republic that provoked the bombings.

Irish newspapers urged harsher anti-terrorist measures. Dublin's Evening Herald declared in an editorial: "If new legislation should be required to defeat the killers, let it be enacted. If the

## News Analysis

## Chou's Status, Teng's Rise Bemuse the China Watchers

By H.D.S. Greenway

HONG KONG (UPI)—The state visit of Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus, to China is being watched with more than the usual interest here for signs of Premier Chou En-lai's continuing withdrawal from many of the diplomatic functions that usually surround these visits.

When the archbishop arrived in Peking Friday, it was Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping who met him at the airport, not Mr. Chou, and China watchers will be watching for further signs that Mr. Teng has been chosen to take over the responsibilities Mr. Chou once kept for himself.

Mr. Teng stood in for Mr. Chou during much of the visit of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan last week, and Chinese officials said that Mr. Chou was unwell because of old age.

Mr. Teng presided at a state dinner last night for Archbishop Makarios, said he had been entrusted by Premier Chou to be the host at the dinner.

Although there is no reason to doubt the 76-year-old premier's fatigue or the need for someone to take over some of his protocol functions, the premier's delegation of responsibility goes far deeper than mere protocol and there are reasons to believe that there may be political motives involved as well as physical ones.

The whole business has been too carefully stage-managed to be explained solely in terms of a sudden physical falling. China watchers suggest that what the world may be seeing is Mr. Chou's gradual abdication from the day-to-day running of the government, which he has so dominated since the fall of Lin Biao in 1971.

Mission to UN

It has increasingly appeared that Mr. Teng is being groomed for power in the field of foreign affairs, and perhaps for bigger things. His mission to the United Nations last month was evidence of this, and the recent photograph of Mr. Teng in Mr. Chou's old seat on the right hand of Mao Tse-tung during Mr. Bhutto's visit was even more compelling. Mr. Chou had switched to Mr. Mao's left, and the symbolic importance of such a switch would not be lost on the Chinese.

Last week Mr. Chou unexpectedly failed to appear at a state dinner given by visiting President Leopold Senghor of Senegal. When he did not Mr. Senghor took his place. Mr. Chou was with Mr. Bhutto at the state guest house instead.

Mr. Teng attended the talks with Mr. Bhutto and even took over some of them. He gave the first dinner in Mr. Chou's name and gave the toast at Mr. Bhutto's banquet without bothering to mention Mr. Chou.

One question is, why Teng Hsiao-ping? He was denounced as a "capitalist roadster" after deposed chief of state Lin Biao-chi during the cultural revolution. How did he go from the second-most-hated villain in China to what looks to be the second most important official in the government in eight years?

And why was Mr. Teng rather mysteriously elevated to the Politburo in January when all the other Politburo members were announced in August after the 10th party congress? The congress itself was unusually brief and was called without the usual preliminary buildup.

Too little is known to adequately answer those questions, but behind the facade of the present campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius there appears to be a struggle for succession.

Some say Mr. Teng may be Mr. Mao's personal choice, but more likely his increasing influence is the result of some internal compromise between political factions. It may have something to do with keeping the army in line, for Mr. Teng would hardly be the candidate of the radical left.

As for Mr. Chou's future, diplomats have commented recently that the premier has not been in

## China Denies It Has Base in Tanzania

By Kathleen Telisch

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (UPI)—China and Tanzania have complained about a report that shows Peking as having a military base on Tanzania territory.

In response, Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim has ordered three independent experts drafted, the study to review it and make the necessary corrections.

The report at issue is a study on the great power's military presence in the Indian Ocean made by three outside experts: Frank Barnby, director of the International Peace Research Institute in Stockholm; St. Salfavi, a retired Iranian soldier; and K. Subramanyam, director of the Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses in New Delhi.

U.S. officials reportedly chagrined by the study's suggestion that China has an installation on an island in the Indian Ocean, have relatively lighter treatment of Soviet Union's involvement. No U.S. objections have been officially.

The report concluded plans to convert Diego Garcia, an ocean island of Britain, into a fully equipped air base for U.S. forces would trigger a Soviet effort to establish a similar base and escalate power military rivalry in the Indian Ocean.

Tanzania's protest against the report had based their case on "malicious conjectures, false assumptions" without citing with the member governments concerned.

China's complaint was orally during a meeting Friday with Mr. Waldheim.

Tanzania has made it clear that it is totally opposed to any military bases and will permit any part of its territory to be used for such purposes. Salim Ahmed Salim, Tanzania's chief delegate, He also said that the three authors of the report had based their case on "malicious conjectures, false assumptions" without citing with the member governments concerned.

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Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and wife in Sydney home after election.

## Labor Edge Seen in Australian Vote Count

SYDNEY, May 19 (UPI)—Political observers, basing their forecasts on the latest returns, said today that Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's Labor party could be returned to power with a reduced majority of three in the House of Representatives after yesterday's close elections.

But election officials said that it could still be several days before the final results were known. The Labor party held a nine-seat majority in the House during its 16 months in office.

However, Mr. Whitlam and opposition leader Billy Snedden were not claiming victory or conceding defeat.

With about 70 percent of the returns counted, it was still unclear whether Mr. Whitlam's Labor party or Mr. Snedden's Liberal-Country coalition would control the 127-member House or the 60-member Senate. There also was no decision on four referendums designed to transfer more power to the federal government.

The latest returns gave the Labor party control of or leads

## Israeli Boats Said to Kill 8 in Shelling of Lebanon Coast

BEIRUT, May 19 (AP)—Four Israeli gunboats, protected by an umbrella of jet warplanes, today bombarded a Palestinian camp near Tyre, Lebanon's southernmost city. A Lebanese Defense Ministry communiqué said that one gunboat was hit by shore batteries.

Initial reports said that six civilians and two Palestinian guerrillas were killed, four civilians were wounded and a number of dwellings were destroyed at the Rashidiya refugee camp, two miles south of Tyre and about nine miles north of the Israeli border.

An announcement from Israel said that the boats shelled "buildings and installations occupied by terrorist units." It said that all the boats returned safely from the raid.

The camp's 12,000 inhabitants make it the second largest Palestinian refugee in Lebanon. It is controlled by one of the most militant guerrilla groups, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The bombardment this afternoon lasted a little more than an hour, during which the Israeli aircraft overhead did not fire at the camp.

"The Lebanese Defense Ministry said that 'all our heavy guns participated in firing' on the raiders, which it said were four to six miles offshore. 'Smoke was seen pouring from one of the boats after it took a direct hit,' the ministry said.

The attack from the sea followed two days of Israeli air raids on Lebanon in retaliation for the

## A Holdup Drill in Japan Was The Real Thing

OSAKA, Japan, May 19 (AP)—The police were searching today for a masked bandit who robbed a bank here of 40 million yen (about \$143,000) by posing as a police officer carrying out a drill to prevent bank holdups.

The police described it as the biggest daylight bank holdup in Japan.

## Israeli Laborites Vote for Dovish Coalition Group

TEL AVIV, May 19 (AP)—Israel's dominant Labor party voted today to form a narrow coalition government that promised to be the most dovish in years.

The party's ruling central committee voted 302 to 36 with six abstentions to ask the Independent Liberal party, a former coalition partner, and the civil rights movement, Shulamit Aloni, to join the new government.

It would be only the second government in Israel's history to exclude the National Religious party, which has maintained control over all religious matters since the state's inception. But the Labor party also decided to appeal to the rabbinical leadership to reconsider its decision not to join.

Premier-designate Yitzhak Rabin has not said who will be new ministers, but most political veterans think outgoing Premier Golda Meir, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and Finance Minister Pinchas Sapir will not be in the new cabinet.

## Russia Reported To Interrogate Israelis in Syria

LONDON, May 19 (UPI)—Soviet military interrogation teams have been questioning Israeli prisoners held in Damascus since the October Middle East war. The Sunday Times said today.

"The interrogators have employed medical and other techniques to break the resistance of the Israelis, and several of the prisoners have apparently talked," it said.

The Sunday Times attributed its information to "exceptionally highly placed Arab military and political sources."

It said one drug used by Soviet interrogators—although not necessarily on the Israeli prisoners—was succinyl choline, which causes convulsive muscular spasms, then leaves the victim totally paralyzed, unable to breathe, in agonizing pain—but wholly conscious.

The drug wears off in two minutes or less and then the victim is threatened with another dose unless he talks, the newspaper said.

## Libya Reports on Aid Given to Egypt, Syria

BEIRUT, May 19 (UPI)—Libya said yesterday that it had extended a \$20-million loan to Syria. It also published an inventory of the assistance that it had extended to Egypt and Syria during the October war.

The Libyan news agency quoted a Tripoli newspaper as saying that Libya paid \$113 million for 70 Soviet-made Mig-21 jet fighters, which were shipped from Russia to the Arab fronts at the height of the fighting. The agency said Libya also paid for ammunition, fuel, spare parts, helicopters and reconnaissance and radio equipment, worth millions of dollars.

## Arab-Israeli Brawls

LONDON, May 19 (UPI)—Brawls broke out between Arab and Israeli supporters today when a pro-Arab crowd of about 2,000 tried to march on the Israeli Embassy, the police said.



DEFIANT ATTITUDE—Armed Palestinian woman giving victory sign in one of refugee camps in southern Lebanon that was bombed by Israelis last week.

## Israelis Loosen Rules On Arms for Citizens

TEL AVIV, May 19 (Reuters)—All Israelis who ask to carry arms will be allowed to do so, provided they do not have criminal records, Police Minister Shlomo Hildel said yesterday.

He said that the police understood public demands for increased protection and personal weapons following the Arab guerrilla attack on Kfar Yehoshua and the massacre at Majdal Wednesday in which 21 teen-agers were killed.

## 34 Get Death in Plot

ZANZIBAR, May 19 (UPI)—A Zanzibari court yesterday sentenced 34 persons to death for their part in a plot in 1972 to lead to the assassination of the island's leader, Sheikh Ali Karume.

## In Seeing Foreign Leaders

## Shah Adroitly Mixes Diplomacy With Oil

By James F. Clarity

TEHRAN, May 19 (NYT)—The Shah of Iran, who predicts that "the great civilization" he fosters here will gradually make Iran a major world power, has begun to press his strategy for making his country an increasingly dominant force in the Middle East and southern Asia. Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, with virtually authoritarian control of his country's political life, has been using standard diplomatic

laced with promises of oil and other economic help in dealing with the visiting leaders of several less stable, poorer countries in the region.

During visits since the beginning of April by the leaders of Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, the Iranian monarchy sought to strengthen Iran's influence in the area stretching roughly from the eastern Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean.

The Shah sought to persuade the visitors that political calm in the area, and Iranian economic aid, could be secured by the adoption of public positions that did not dispute the tenets of Iranian foreign policy, including continuing Iranian hostility toward Iraq, growing Iranian military strength in the Persian Gulf and the Shah's acquiescence to American plans to increase U.S. naval power in the Indian Ocean.

The visiting leaders, who still have unvoiced and irritating problems with each other and with Iran, praised the Shah's government, minimized their disputes with him and left for home with promises of friendship and cooperation.

Other nations sending high-level delegations to Tehran include Turkey, Morocco, Egypt and Syria. The Turks, after years of telling Iranians they were more interested in trade with Europe, are seeking more Iranian exports through Turkish ports. A Moroccan official recently left after receiving promises of increased trade and friendlier relations. In the next few days, Syria and Egypt, despite their strong ties with Iraq, will send cabinet ministers here.

Of Iran's neighbors, only Iraq remains outside the Shah's welcome. The most recent border clashes between the two countries were reported in early March—a UN study of their differences is under way—and neither Iranian nor Iraqi officials here indicate that there is any hope for an early improvement of relations. Iran's relations with the Soviet Union, to the north, have been calm for years.

## Mrs. Gandhi Visits

During the visits of the leaders from Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, oil and politics were neatly mixed. Indira Gandhi, who was the first Indian prime minister to come here in 15 years, agreed to a communiqué that seemed to say India and Iran are the best of friends.

In the joint document, Mrs. Gandhi agreed that India understood Iran's problems with Iraq. India has close economic relations with Iraq, whose military pilots are trained by Indians.

During the talks here, India received promises that Iran would seriously consider increasing the supply of crude oil to the Indian refinery at Madras and financing its needed capital improvements. India already receives Iranian oil on relatively good terms. India promised to send teachers, technicians and doctors to Iran.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan and the Shah reached an agreement that would give Pakistan Iranian oil on "special and friendly terms." The two also discussed the possibility of Iran's financing two cotton mills and a cement plant in Pakistan.

thing he had stood for during his 11 years in the Finance Ministry.

Despite such rhetoric, the seeds of Mr. Mitterrand's defeat were apparent when, in the first-round vote, he won 43.2 percent of the vote—but not the 45 percent he had targeted as the psychological breakthrough point needed for victory in the runoff.

Political scientists working on the basis of computer results estimated tonight that Mr. Giscard d'Estaing won about 90 percent of Mr. Chaban-Delmas's first-round vote, despite the calls of the Communists asking Gaullists to vote Mitterrand in the runoff.

Active Campaign

But political scientists gave the left credit for having conducted an active door-to-door campaign between the two rounds which persuaded some—not all—veteran Communists and Socialists to overcome their reluctance and vote for Mr. Mitterrand in the runoff.

Many veteran members of both parties abstained in the first-round vote to demonstrate their disapproval of the 1969 alliance, which ended a quarter-century of cold war between the two parties.

Although Mr. Giscard d'Estaing refused to name names, he did promise that the new government would include many young and new faces. Favored for the prime minister's slot is Olivier Guichard, a veteran Gaullist whose good relations with the new President are symbolized by the marriage of his daughter with the son of Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's prime minister, Michel Poniatowski.

Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, as General de Gaulle's aide de camp, although the general never trusted him with a ministerial job, headed the important Equipment and Transport Ministry in the last government.

## Kidnappers Threaten To Kill Genoa Official

GENOA, May 19 (UPI)—The clandestine group that kidnapped Genoa Assistant Prosecutor Mario Sossi a month ago threatened yesterday to kill him if Italy does not release eight imprisoned leftists jailed for murder and other crimes by midnight tomorrow.

The threat was contained in the sixth communiqué from the Red Brigades. An earlier communiqué listed the names of the eight prisoners that the group wanted released in exchange for Mr. Sossi, who was kidnapped April 18. President Giovanni Leone has said that he would refuse to order their release.

## Play Begins Today In Team Bridge

VENICE, May 19 (UPI)—Italy and North America are the chief contenders for the world team championship which begins in tomorrow.

The Italian team, led by Bruno Biondani, will defend their European title with a modified version of their famous Blue Team. Leading the American challenge will be Bob Hamman and Bob Wolff of Dallas, part of the Aces team.

## Silva Mind Control in Paris

A scientifically-based system that dramatically frees the innate powers of your mind, increasing concentration, memory, intuition and creativity, and enables relief of tension, headaches and migraines and control of diet and smoking habits.

It's upbeat, constructive, 300,000 graduates in U.S. including hundreds of lawyers, physicians, bankers and university faculty.

Free introductory lecture: 8 PM, Wednesday, May 22, Pershing Hall, 49 Rue Pierre-Charron.



الصحافة العالمية

# Clamp Contradicts Senate Testimony Nape Shows Mitchell Quit Over Watergate

By David E. Rosenbaum

WASHINGTON, May 19 (NYT).—A transcript of President Nixon's June 30, 1973, conversation with John Mitchell and H. R. Haldeman shows that the three men agreed that Mitchell's resignation was the President's "camouflage" to the Watergate cover-up.

Mr. Mitchell said in his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee that his resignation was the subject of the 30-minute conversation, but he said he had resigned solely because of family responsibilities.

His resignation was announced the day after the June 30 session.

Members of the House Judiciary Committee said today that the transcript could be considered as evidence for impeaching Mr. Nixon.

Mr. Nixon could be considered as impeachable for the alleged false statement to the committee, but members agreed that the transcript was unlikely to be the basis for an impeachment.

Portion of the tape of the 30-minute meeting was heard in session Wednesday during the impeachment hearing.

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the Judiciary Committee's impeachment hearing and the transcript of that portion has been published in several newspapers. The transcript was not one of those made public by the White House.

Stands by Testimony  
Mr. Mitchell's lawyer said Friday that his client would stand by his testimony to the Senate committee.

In the testimony last July, Mr. Mitchell was asked by Sen. Herman Talmadge, D-Ga., why he had resigned as campaign director.

Mr. Mitchell replied, "I had some long-range telephone and publicized threats (from his wife, Martha) that if I didn't get out of politics, I was going to lose my marriage."

Sen. Talmadge then asked, "It had nothing whatever to do with the Watergate matter?"

Mr. Mitchell answered, "None whatsoever."

According to the Judiciary Committee's transcript, the portion of the tape that the committee heard begins with Mr. Haldeman, former White House chief of staff, saying, "Well, there may be another fact. The longer you wait, the more risk each hour brings. You run the risk of more stuff, valid or invalid, surfacing on the Watergate cover type of thing."

Mr. Nixon agreed, saying, "Yes, that's the other thing. If something does come out, but we won't—we hope nothing will. It may not. But there is always the risk."

Story Outlined  
Then Mr. Nixon made it apparent that the matter under discussion was Mr. Mitchell's resignation and the President told Mr. Mitchell the "story" that would be used to announce the resignation.

"Well, I'd cut the loss fast," the President said. "I'd cut it fast. If we're going to do it, I'd cut it fast." Mr. Nixon went on to say:

"I think the story is, you're positive rather than negative, because as I said I was preparing to answer for this press conference, I just wrote it out, as I usually do, one way—terribly sensitive (unintelligible). A hell of a lot of people will like that answer. They would. And it'd make anybody else who asked any question on it look like a selfish son of a bitch which thoroughly intimidates them to look like."

Mr. Nixon told Mr. Mitchell that "otherwise" the resignation "will be tied right to Watergate," and he assured Mr. Mitchell that the matter would be handled "in a way that Martha's not hurt."

Mr. Mitchell replied, "Yeah, OK."

William Hundley, Mr. Mitchell's attorney, was asked Friday about the discrepancy between the transcript and Mr. Mitchell's testimony. The lawyer responded, "We'll just stand on our sworn testimony."

another Stans lawyer, during Judge Hart Friday handed a hearing on the special prosecutor's three-month attempt to enforce a subpoena for files and documents kept by Mr. Stans at the Finance Committee's office.

Mr. Stans, a former secretary of commerce, was first served with the subpoena Feb. 23. Testimony at Friday's hearing disclosed that Mr. Stans' lawyers, immediately on learning of the subpoena, had sent for the keys to filing cabinets in which the subpoenaed papers were kept and that Mr. Stans then asserted that the files were "personal" and, therefore, protected by his Fifth Amendment right not to incriminate himself.

In an attempt Friday to persuade Judge Hart that the Stans documents are, indeed, "official" papers subject to subpoena, Mr. McBride and Charles Ruff, Jaworski staff prosecutors, questioned several witnesses, including Herbert Kalmbach, Mr. Nixon's former personal lawyer and a key fund raiser for him under Mr. Stans.

Ran Illegal Fund  
Kalmbach pleaded guilty in February to running an illegal congressional campaign fund in 1970 that secretly raised millions of dollars for the Republicans and of providing a European ambassadorship to another donor in return for a \$100,000 contribution. Kalmbach said Friday that he had asked Mr. Stans for the assistance in seeing that the commitment (the ambassadorship) was met.

The government subpoena seeks Mr. Stans' telephone logs, appointment calendars, "ambassador lists" and other special-contributor lists recommending appointments to government posts, "political files" and a so-called "list of noncontributors."

Although Mr. Stans' lawyers insisted that their client's files do not now contain such lists, Kalmbach testified that an "ambassador list" had been kept. He said he had had "numerous discussions" with Mr. Stans—"perhaps 300 meetings or phone calls"—on contributors whom Kalmbach described as "nominees for government posts."



MOVING OUT—A mother herds her children to safety during the Los Angeles shootout

## Six SLA Members Slain in Los Angeles

(Continued from Page 1)

lily as the self-styled "General Field Marshal Cinque" on the tape-recorded ransom messages relayed to the Hearst family after the Feb. 4 abduction of the Berkeley co-ed. His death, and that of Miss Perry and Miss Solitsky, shattered the leadership of the SLA.

The three had accompanied their captive in San Francisco late last month during a daring bank holdup. It was the last time Miss Hearst was seen in public.

They were the principal figures and spokesmen for the terrorist group during the 104 days since the kidnapping, maintaining that under their guidance, Miss Hearst had become a convert to their cause.

In their taped messages, they had asserted repeatedly a conviction that they were prepared to die in the struggle for revolution in this country.

Friday night, in the pitched gun battle that ravaged the house in which they were trapped by more than 150 armed raiders, they did just that.

They exchanged heavy fire with the police for nearly an hour in what has been described by authorities as the greatest concentration of gunfire in the city's history.

The bodies of Miss Perry and Miss Atwood were found in the charred ruins where the kitchen had been.

DeFreeze died of multiple gunshot wounds, Dr. Noguchi said, and added that there was a possibility that a head wound was self-inflicted.

Miss Perry and Miss Hill also died from bullet wounds, he said, but Miss Solitsky and Wolfe died in the fire, of burns and smoke inhalation.

All of the defenders of the bungalow wore gas masks.

Still at large are the following members of the terrorist group who are believed to have been involved in the abduction of Miss Hearst: Emily and William Harris and Thero Wheeler.

An all-point police bulletin was issued for a 1972 Chevrolet suspected of carrying four armed SLA members.

The small, clandestine group claimed responsibility for the slaying last winter of Marcus Foster, the Oakland superintendent of schools, and the kidnapping of Miss Hearst on Feb. 4 from her Berkeley apartment.

On the first taped messages relayed to her father after the abduction, Miss Hearst pleaded that the demands of her captors be met so that she could be set free.

However, in a series of bizarre turns after her family distributed \$2 million worth of free food to the poor in the San Francisco area, Miss Hearst abruptly renounced her parents in another taped message and said that she had joined the ranks of her SLA "comrades" and refused to return to her family, whom she called "exponents of the enemy racist state."

Her family refused to accept her statements of conversion, and said they had been imposed on their daughter by her captors.

A revolver dropped by a man in a shopping incident on Thursday in Los Angeles—a homicide event until a woman companion raked the store with machine-gun fire—was traced to Miss Harris.

A police manhunt or jumped information as the fugitives apparently abandoned their principal hideout, which was raided earlier Friday. The gang was then apparently forced to seek refuge in black neighborhoods of Los Angeles, where the presence of white people is a rather uncommon event.

The biggest mistake these people ever made was coming to L.A., a federal agent said, "because the police down here don't fool around."

The attack force was staggering, with more than 150 heavily armed Los Angeles city and county officers, many in flak jackets.

A command from a police bullhorn asking for the occupants of the house to surrender was unanswered until a tear-gas canister was propelled through a window of the one-story dwelling. Then—and there seem to be conflicting reports about the sequence—automatic-weapons fire from the house swept the streets.

A murderous exchange ensued burst shotgun explosions interspersed with the stuttering bursts of automatic weapons.

As the cross-fire shredded the hideout, there was never a sign of surrender, only diminishing glimpses of muzzle flashes from a door or a shattered window.

## SLA Members Slain in Los Angeles

### Authorities' Profiles of Five of the Six Dead

The profiles of five of the six members of the SLA who were slain in the Los Angeles shootout are as follows:

Donald DeFreeze, 34, white, a former Marine, was a co-leader of the SLA. He died of multiple gunshot wounds. He was wearing a gas mask and a flak jacket.

Patricia (Marianne) Solitsky, 29, a white woman believed to be a co-leader of the SLA. She died of burns and smoke inhalation. She and Mrs. Perry had been trained in guerrilla warfare, authorities said. She was photographed during the bank robbery.

William Wolfe, 23, white, son of a Pennsylvania anesthetist, who became a political activist while studying at the University of California at Berkeley. He died of burns and smoke inhalation.

Angela Atwood, 25, white, a former Indianapolis student teacher believed to be the "Gladys" who spoke on a taped SLA communiqué to the Hearst family. She died of burns and smoke inhalation.

The body of a sixth person, a white woman, was found late today at the site of Friday's shootout.



Donald DeFreeze



Nancy Ling Perry

## Valium Is No. 1 Prescription Drug in U.S.

By Lawrence K. Altman  
NEW YORK, May 19 (NYT).—Valium, a mild tranquilizer, is the No. 1 prescribed drug in the United States and perhaps the world.

The drug, known as diazepam, is the most widely prescribed in the United States, according to a survey of medical use in the country published in the New England Journal of Medicine last month. It has put a new perspective on the use of anti-anxiety drugs.

The results of an international study on the use of anti-anxiety drugs, published in the New England Journal of Medicine last month, have put a new perspective on the use of anti-anxiety drugs.

Valium is believed to act on the limbic system, but just how the drug relieves anxiety is something of a scientific mystery.

A chief factor in Valium's huge sales is its relative safety. Doctors say it is difficult to use Valium as a means of committing suicide. Valium acts on the brain at doses far below the toxic range of a barbiturate.

Psychological addiction to Valium has been reported, and a patient can become physically dependent on the drug. Such side effects can be aggravated when a person drinks alcohol.

Accordingly, doctors have been warned to tell users not to drive and not to operate machinery after using Valium. Concern about overuse of Valium has also led to other warnings in medical journals that only some anxious patients need the drug.

take most often. Other people take it to help relieve pain from back sprains and slipped disks.

Many obstetricians inject Valium into mothers' veins in labor to help make delivery easier. Dentists often prescribe it to calm patients before they drill or pull teeth.

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## Nixon Cites Privilege to Bar ans Papers to Prosecutor

By Ben A. Franklin

WASHINGTON, May 19 (NYT).—President Nixon asserted today the right of executive privilege, Friday, in an effort to bar a government subpoena for evidence between himself and White House aides and his chief of staff in the 1972 campaign.

He was repeated indications, however, that U.S. District Judge George Hart Jr. might overrule the latest attempt to withhold evidence from the office of special Watergate prosecutor, Jaworski.

Mr. Hart said he would rule the letters himself and then probably apply a decision by Judge John A. Tamm that overruled such claims of privilege.

Mr. Jaworski's lawyers from Mr. Jaworski's told Judge Hart that they were seeking evidence for a federal grand jury here that had been investigating Mr. Stans' role as chairman of the National Committee to Re-Elect President, the principal funding organization of Mr. Nixon's 1972 campaign.

Favors Suspected  
Thomas McBride, one of the attorneys for the prosecutors, said the subpoena was looking for "evidence of quid pro quo" offers of diplomatic or other government favors in return for contributions solicited by Mr. Stans. An assertion of privilege was made in a letter from the White House to the court that Robert Barker,

another Stans lawyer, during Judge Hart Friday handed a hearing on the special prosecutor's three-month attempt to enforce a subpoena for files and documents kept by Mr. Stans at the Finance Committee's office.

Mr. Stans, a former secretary of commerce, was first served with the subpoena Feb. 23. Testimony at Friday's hearing disclosed that Mr. Stans' lawyers, immediately on learning of the subpoena, had sent for the keys to filing cabinets in which the subpoenaed papers were kept and that Mr. Stans then asserted that the files were "personal" and, therefore, protected by his Fifth Amendment right not to incriminate himself.

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MEDICAL REPORT—Dr. Thomas Noguchi, the Los Angeles coroner, shows where a bullet killed the self-proclaimed Field Marshal Cinque in the California shootout with police.

## Maheu Says Hughes Eyed Gift To Johnson for A-Test Halt

LOS ANGELES, May 19 (NYT).—Robert Maheu testified here Friday that in 1968 Howard Hughes assigned him to offer \$1 million to President Lyndon B. Johnson on the condition that nuclear weapons testing be brought to an end.

Mr. Maheu, a witness in his own \$17.3-million defamation suit against the Hughes interests, for which he once worked, testified in U.S. District Court that the offer was to have the money delivered after Mr. Johnson, who has since died, left the White House.

But Mr. Maheu said that, although he went to the ZEB Ranch, where the President was resting, he never presented the offer.

Soon after President Johnson announced in March, 1968, that he would not run for re-election, Mr. Maheu testified, Mr. Hughes asked him to arrange a meeting at which he could give the President some messages that Mr. Hughes said he would give to Mr. Maheu for delivery.

Just before he was to fly in a private plane from Dallas to the Texas ranch, Mr. Hughes told him what the messages were, Mr. Maheu testified.

The first point, he said, was that he was to "feel out" Mr. Johnson about his attitude toward ending the war in Vietnam.

he left office if he would stop the nuclear tests, which were being carried out in a desert testing ground near Las Vegas, where Mr. Hughes lived.

The President said that he had received a note from Mr. Hughes about nuclear testing, Mr. Maheu testified. Mr. Johnson said that the note was wrong in some points and that he did not plan to include it in his official papers because of the embarrassment it might someday create for Mr. Hughes, the witness said.

Mr. Maheu also said that he told Mr. Johnson that Mr. Hughes was interested in the President's future, and asked "how could we be of help" to him.

Mr. Maheu said the President replied that his chief interest was the LBJ Library and that all he would hope for was that Mr. Hughes would make a small contribution to it.

"I never made any suggestions beyond that point," Mr. Maheu testified. He said that Mr. Johnson said the nuclear weapons tests were of extreme importance to national security and must be continued.

Chinese Quake Relief  
HONG KONG, May 19 (Reuters).—Chinese troops and medical teams are carrying out a relief operation for victims of the earthquake that rocked part of Southwestern China a week ago, according to the radio in Peking.



The Good Life.  
A great Scotch  
is part of it.

The more you know about Scotch,  
the more you like Ballantine's



Ballantine's  
Super Scotch Whisky



## Portentous Irrelevancy

In the context of India's accumulating socio-economic problems, the explosion of a nuclear device in Rajasthan has all the irrelevancy of a firecracker let off in a panel discussion on food and poverty. But, considering the still urgent need in the world to limit the threat of nuclear war, the blast under the Indian desert is a portent, and an unhappy one.

These conclusions will stand up against the Indian claim that its interest in atomic power is confined to peaceful uses. India does need energy, and the atom is an obvious source. But is it necessary for India to go back to the raw beginnings, the dangerous beginnings, of the effort to unleash the atom at White Sands to find economically useful techniques? Explosions can shift the earth, and there is some talk in New Delhi that they can be used for mining—but they can also level cities and disrupt ecologies. The experiment in Rajasthan serves no obvious Indian need, but it does set up shock waves that are being felt both close to and far from the subcontinent.

India never signed the 1968 treaty whereby the chief nuclear states promised not to supply non-nuclear states with nuclear weapons, and the latter agreed not to develop their own. The Indian objection was quite logical—the treaty would have imposed obligations on those countries without nuclear weapons that did not apply to those who had them. The concentration of nuclear military power in a few hands did not, in fact, mean global

hegemony by the big nuclear powers, since they constituted a standoff.

The limitations which the nature of nuclear weapons imposes on their principal possessors can be seen in the efforts, however tardy, the United States and the Soviet Union are making to limit their stockpiles. Even more dramatically, those limitations are evident in Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's patient efforts to talk Israel and Syria into a cease-fire. If nuclear blackmail by a superpower were practicable, surely it would have been applied here—or in Indochina, or in any of the tangled diplomatic and military situations in which the United States has been involved since Nagasaki.

There certainly is danger for the world in the possession of vast nuclear power by any state, or any number of states. But that threat is compounded by proliferation. The possibility of the seizure of the atomic button by some irresponsible person or group in Washington or Moscow has been explored and exploited in fiction and in sober treatises. The wider the spread of nuclear military technology, the greater the peril; Soviet and American leaders have repeatedly affirmed their recognition of responsibility—but states exist now whose interests are much less worldwide and whose political stability is far more precarious.

This is not to say that India itself will abuse the power it has just acquired. But the example is a bad one, the tensions it sets up and the possibilities it contains can bring no apparent good to India's millions, while creating new risks around the world.

## Authority in Bonn

West Germany's new Socialist chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, is the right man, in the right place, at the right time. The government he has formed in close negotiations with the Free Democrats augurs well for his prospects. No second step was possible until this essential first move had been made to reshape and preserve the political alliance that provides his Bundestag majority.

This first successful operation brings into view a lesser-known facet of the Schmidt personality, that of political negotiator. He shows a tough, prickly, energetic, even arrogant and somewhat nationalist exterior that can worry less confident Europeans. But beneath the surface, there are intellect, knowledge, a pragmatic ability to analyze partners and possibilities.

All this was needed in working out the necessary compromises that held the Brandt coalition together, moving the ambitious new Free Democratic leader, Hans-Dietrich Genscher—who speaks no foreign languages and knows little of foreign affairs—into the post of foreign minister to replace Walter Scheel, who is West Germany's new president. The departure of Egon Bahr, the architect of Bonn's Ostpolitik, is more related to the resignation of his mentor for two decades, Mr. Brandt, than to the partial shift of inter-

est to Westpolitik from Brandt's eastern construction, which is largely completed.

The major surprise is the promotion of youthful Hans Apel as finance minister. As state secretary for Common Market affairs in the Foreign Ministry and a Schmidt confidant, Mr. Apel in the past has talked tough in European community negotiations. But, despite the new chancellor's Atlanticist views, he knows that his chief challenge abroad is to make the European community move forward again. Mr. Apel's knowledge of the ways of the Eurocracy will be invaluable in this task.

Mr. Schmidt faces two dangers: His party's popularity has dropped sharply as a result of weak leadership, inflation, energy-related economic strains, a psychological malaise and radicalism among young Socialists. The dynamism that is his greatest appeal could trip him up.

But as the kind of authority figure to whom Germans traditionally rally, he was unchallenged in picking up the reins of party leadership Willy Brandt dropped. The question now is whether he can bring the country as a whole to respond in the same way.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Car Bomb Cowardice

After Maslout the world needs no reminders of the mad horrors political terrorism can produce. But few atrocities compare to the cowardly practice of planting time bombs in public places for indiscriminate killing of innocent passers-by.

The four car bombs that exploded during the commuter rush hour in downtown Dublin and the town of Monaghan Friday took more than twice as many lives as all previous acts of violence in the Irish Republic since the beginning of the Ulster troubles five years ago. And the human tragedy is compounded by the political circumstances.

The perpetrators are as yet unknown but, whether they were IRA or Protestant extremists, the objective was the same. Both extremes in this internecine struggle are opposed to the compromise solution accepted late last year by Catholic and Protestant

moderates in Belfast in an attempt to share power in Northern Ireland and end killing. Their coalition government put Catholics into the Ulster Executive for the first time in history, a settlement brought about with the mediation of the Irish as well as the British governments.

It is that act which has made Dublin the enemy of both extremes, though the IRA protests police suppression in the Irish Republic while the Protestants in the province berate Dublin for failing to close the border effectively to IRA infiltrators. Killings in Northern Ireland passed the 1,000-mark last month. Their continuation and their extension on a large scale to the republic, despite a political solution that deserves a serious trial, carries fanaticism to a despicable low.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## International Opinion

### Maalot and Reprisal

Attempts by Palestinian and other Arab leaders to shift the guilt for the sordid crime against Israeli children at Maalot onto the Israelis themselves is not only shameful but mischievous. The only hope of averting an endless repetition of these inhuman acts is for all responsible leaders—and especially for those whose cause is injured by such acts—to combine in denouncing them and not to offer lame justifications.

Whatever might be said in criticism of the Israeli reprisal raids, especially when they involve the loss of even more innocent young lives, it is time for the Security Council to take notice of the failure of the Lebanese government to act firmly against the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. This irresponsible and most extreme splinter group has boasted of its responsibility for the bloodbath at Maalot as well as for the recent brutal killings at Qatra Shmona.

—From the Observer (London).

## In the International Edition

### Seventy-Five Years Ago

May 20, 1899

PARIS—The perfection which the United States signal service has attained in the Philippine campaign will certainly have great significance in the future of military operations in general. The commanding officer, General Otis, is in perfect touch with all of his officers at the front by an involved and efficient system of telegraph wires, flags and sometimes even pigeons. The transmission of improved communications will certainly be felt in civilian life as well.

### Fifty Years Ago

May 20, 1924

PARIS—ANNOUNCEMENT—The New York Herald appears today as the European Edition of the New York Herald Tribune. Though a change in ownership has taken place, the general policy of the newspaper will continue under the editorship of Mr. Laurence Hill. Americans now in Europe will have the opportunity of seeing a paper in Paris the same day as they appear in New York and we hope to improve our service to our readers.—Ogden Reid, President.



## Détente and the UN Charter

By Eugene V. Rostow

NEW HAVEN.—The administration has contended, as Prof. Marshall D. Shulman, director of the Russian Institute of Columbia University, sums up its position, that Sen. Henry M. Jackson's amendment to the Trade Reform Act requires the United States to choose "between morality with continued high tension and détente with trade." The United States faces no such choice.

Everyone who writes about Soviet-American relations seems to use a different definition of the talismanic word "détente." For Professor Shulman, "détente" is the beginning of a process through which the terms of Soviet competition with the United States are codified, particularly by reducing the danger of nuclear war, damping down the military elements in the continuing competition between the two countries, and encouraging restraints in other aspects of their competition.

If this is détente we have had it since 1945. But until now we have called it "containment" and "cold war." The push and pull of Soviet-American military confrontations since the early postwar crises in Iran, Greece, Turkey and Berlin have indeed "codified" the limits of Soviet expansion beyond which the Russians came to understand that they faced unacceptable risks. And every American president has earnestly sought to translate these conditioned cold war reflexes into a more positive and explicit political understanding, which could be the basis for secure and peaceful relations.

### Carrots and Sticks

In that effort, the United States has maintained a continuous dialogue with the Soviet Union, never interrupted even at moments of confrontation.

We have used both carrots and sticks: the offers of the Marshall Plan, and the wheat deal and other economic projects in 1972, on the one hand, and the delicate and not-so-delicate signals of crisis management on the other. The long cycle of nuclear conversations and negotiations is one theme in the symphony, linked to summit meetings at Geneva, Camp David, Glassboro and Moscow. So is the pattern of crunch through which the Russians have periodically tested our willingness to defend our interests.

It is an abuse of language to define détente as anything less than a clear agreement for peaceful co-existence in the American, not the Soviet sense—an agreement, that is, committing the Soviet Union to obey the rules of the United Nations Charter with respect to the use or the threat of force in international relations, and to carry out its other international obligations. The charter is not a suicide pact. There can be no détente until there is reciprocal respect for its basic rules of public order.

Clearly, President Nixon thought he had achieved an agreement of this character in his ill-fated Declaration of Basic Principles on relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, signed in Moscow on May 22, 1972.

That document makes melancholy reading today. In it, the two nations say they "will proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful co-existence." Therefore, they agree that they will cooperate to prevent the development of situations that could strain their relations.

Each country says it will refrain from seeking to obtain unilateral advantage at the expense of the other, respect each other's security interests and renounce the use or the threat of force.

In the communiqué issued at the same time, the two governments undertook generally to concert their diplomacy in the interests of peace, and specifically promised full support for diplomatic efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict in accordance with a Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1957.

### Action, Promises

There is no way in which the recent pattern of Soviet armament and action can be reconciled with these promises. In the Far East, the Soviet Union does not even pretend that it is carrying out its obligations under the Indochinese accords of 1962 and 1973. Instead, its diplomats say that the accords will be carried out "as soon as possible."

Those agreements require the Soviet Union to get the North Vietnamese out of Laos and Cambodia, and to have them refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of South Vietnam. Instead of fulfilling these agreements with us, the Soviet Union is giving full support to North Vietnam in its active campaign against all three countries. And in the Middle East, far from cooperating with us, before or after May 29, 1972, to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in accordance with the Security Council resolution, the Russians helped decisively to prepare and equip the Arab forces and encourage the 1973 war, against the mandate of that resolution.

They exploited Arab hostility to the existence of Israel as the detonator of a war that was intended to achieve irreversible change in the area and in the relations of the United States to Western Europe. Despite the setback their plan suffered in October, the Russians persevere. As recently as March 12, they were urging the Arabs to continue their oil embargo against the United States and the Netherlands.

President Nixon, suffocating in the coils of Watergate, keeps telling us that he has replaced the cold war with détente, substituted negotiation for confrontation, and achieved "a generation of peace." This is a grievous breach of political ethics.

We confront two implacable facts: the Soviet military buildup is continuing at an ominous rate, and Soviet political policy is more and more obviously fixed in a mood of muscular imperialism. It is possible to claim, as Professor Shulman does, that American trade concessions and credits could help persuade the Russians to accept the rules of "détente." We experimented with that thesis through our recent investment credits to the Soviet Union and our generous sales of wheat. We were repaid by the October war in the Middle East and by Soviet

policy in Indochina. The contention recalls Lenin's comment that "when the time comes to hang the capitalist regimes, they will compete with each other to sell us the rope."

Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State from 1966-69, is Sterling Professor of Law at Yale. He wrote this article for The New York Times.

## Impeachment Abounding

By William F. Buckley Jr.

NEW YORK—Herewith some questions, assumptions, and suppositions concerning the events of the past few days.

1. Mr. Nixon was in very bad shape during the weekend before this one. For a while it appeared as though what one might call the Eagleton effect was about to overtake him. One does not, as a Republican President, easily withstand, in a single week, calls for resignation from citadels of journalistic Republicanism in the Midwest, in the Far West and in Florida, and suffer the rebuke of the leader of the Republican forces in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. The intense speculation on Friday a week ago that Mr. Nixon was about to resign prompted him to take measures very nearly desperate in character: he dispatched his own daughter to look the press in the face and say to them that her father did not intend to resign.

It is left to speculate what Mr. Nixon did privately. It is plausible to assume that he passed along the word to his remaining supporters in the conservative ranks of the House of Representatives that inasmuch as he would not resign, calls upon him to do so would be unavailing; and that he was prepared, now, to fight his battle not so much against im-

peachment by the House, but against conviction by the Senate. What he said in effect, one surmises, is that he would not hold up to scorn and obloquy those Republican representatives in the House (how many? 50? 60? 70?) who will vote for impeachment.

This is a very important political development, permitting Republicans under pressure to go home during the election season and say to their constituents: I voted for impeachment, now let's see what the Senate says. If they voted for impeachment and were then persecuted by Nixonian rhetoric as traitors, they would probably lose their seats. If they failed to vote impeachment, they would probably also lose. Now, one supposes, they have a fighting chance.

2. The prediction now is that impeachment will be voted, so that attention fastens on the next stage in the dramatic development.

Here there are problems. On the assumption that several articles of impeachment will be voted, and that the rules that governed the disposition of the case against Andrew Johnson obtained, the Senate would be up against it. Because there isn't enough time, between the vote for impeachment and the lapse of the Senate's legal life on January 20, 1975, to

follow the old procedure, called for the House "mans (the prosecutors) to state case on all issues, then for President's defenders to take their case, after which a vote taken by issue.

This is not chronologically feasible. There isn't the time Senate will have to change rules to permit the transaction of an entire article of impeachment in a matter of days.

3. What does this say? There is less and less talk of bringing up against Nixon some of the grand constitutional issues that were the staples of the American Civil War. Nixon as recently as a month ago. Questions like: do we have the right to bomb Cambodia? to impose congressional

At the other end of the spectrum are those charges of Mr. Nixon which one might scribble as the chicken waters: that he knew Watergate, that he covered it, that he cheated on taxes, that he did illegal for the TIT, that he took a from the milk people. Article impeachment based on acts of activity, inasmuch as they not place grave constitutional issues into contention, could have been transacted more easily.

4. In between the issue of title authority to deploy military and to impose and the issue of formal executive behavior of a criminal in the vexed issue of executive privilege. The guessing is that Nixon's lawyers will all but the House to list this one of their points. Mr. Nixon usual to come up with the best of the tapes is in direct defiance of the Judiciary Committee, but of the Justice Department.

But the important development, surely, is this, that for the time the White House appeals take it for granted that Mr. Nixon will be the second president in American history to be impeached.

## Letters

### Peoria: Too Much

Concerning Art Buchwald's scenario for the "White House Fire," (Herald Tribune, May 14), those of us from "thinkably deleted" Peoria have had about enough of the (expensive deleted) being taken out on our fair city. Granted, Peoria has traditionally been the butt of jokes and subtle humor, but poking fun at Peoria and Richard Nixon in the same breath is even too much for the most liberal-minded Peorian to take sitting down.

Maybe it would be better (laughter) to see how it plays in (inaudible) Congress?

JOHN L. DEFFENBAUGH, Glasgow.

### 'Jail to the Chief'

William Safire's convoluted argument, "Jail to the Chief," against impeachment (Herald Tribune, May 14) has a weak moral basis that one hopes is not related to his former White House service. No matter how you read it, he is saying that Richard Nixon should not be impeached because the subsequent steps may finally lead to a jail term and this—according to Safire—the American people could not abide.

His position only emphasizes the unpleasant truth that there is precious little equality before the law in the United States. If

is already impossible to explain to the young or to poor people why a teen-ager committing a minor theft gets a jail sentence while the former Vice-President Agnew is free to pursue his literary career.

If Richard Nixon, the onetime strongest advocate of law-and-order, is convicted of a crime but given no jail sentence, it would be further proof to many less-privileged Americans that "the big guys get off easy and the little guys go to jail."

JAMES R. MILLER, Paris.

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June 1 is Deadline for Pullout

## Obituaries

## Yan Topping, 61, a Co-Owner of N.Y. Yankees for 20 Years

MIAMI BEACH, May 19 (AP)—Yan Topping, 61, longtime co-owner of the New York Yankees, died today of a heart attack at his home in Miami Beach.

Mr. Topping controlled the Yankees from the estate of Col. Jacob Ruppert, the club's longtime owner. The price was \$2.5 million with Mr. MacPhail installed as president and general manager.

After the 1947 season, Mr. Webb and Mr. Topping bought out Mr. MacPhail with Mr. Topping being made president and George Weiss general manager. In 1949, Casey Stengel was brought in to manage the team, signaling the start of one of baseball's most successful dynasties.

The partners sold all but 20 percent of their interest in CBS, in 1964 receiving \$12 million for the team. Mr. Webb sold his 10 percent interest in 1965, and Mr. Topping sold his 10 percent in 1966. Each got \$1 million.

Mr. Topping had extensive land and stock holdings and lived on a yacht off Miami Beach. He was married five times with four of those marriages ending in divorce. His wives included ice-skating champion Sonja Henie and actress Arlene Judge.

Mr. Topping suffered from emphysema during his later years.

## Lu Han

HONG KONG, May 19 (Reuters).—Lu Han, 79, a former Nationalist Chinese general who went over with his troops to the Chinese Communists, died in Peking last Monday, the Chinese news agency reported today.

It said that a memorial service for Gen. Lu, who defected from Gen. Chiang Kai-shek's forces in December, 1949, was held at Peking's Tzuping Cemetery for Revolutionaries yesterday.

## Durga Das

NEW DELHI, May 19 (Reuters).—Durga Das, 73, former chief editor of the Hindustan Times, died here Friday of a heart attack.

In recent years, Mr. Das wrote a column for the Indian News and Feature Alliance, which he founded in 1960, and was editor-in-chief of a biweekly magazine, the States.

## Martin Etcheegoyen

MONTVIDEO, Uruguay, May 19 (Reuters).—Uruguay's Vice-President Martin Etcheegoyen, 63, died here yesterday, informed sources said.

## A Crowd Detains Paris Diplomats In China Incident

PEKING, May 19 (Reuters).—Seven French diplomats were surrounded by a hostile crowd and held for four hours today after one went straggling "out of bounds" near the Ming Dynasty tombs northeast of Peking.

The incident occurred during a picnic in the mountain-enclosed valley—one of the few places outside the capital open to foreign residents.

One of the diplomats, a woman newly arrived in Peking, left the picnic site for a stroll in the countryside. She was surrounded by a crowd consisting mainly of young children, who refused to let her go.

Six fellow-diplomats who came to help were also held by the crowd, which they later described as "hostile." All seven were detained for two hours until public security personnel arrived.

When asked why they had left the tomb area and walked into open countryside, the diplomats said there were no signs forbidding it. They also explained that the woman had only been in Peking three days and did not know it was prohibited.

A security official answered, "You should have known," a diplomat said later.

## Skyscraper Radio Mast

WARSAW, May 19 (AP).—Poland yesterday completed the construction of a radio and television mast 646 meters (2,120 feet) high, and claimed it was the tallest structure in the world. The mast, in the village of Konstanczyn, 40 miles west of Warsaw, is supported by a net of steel wire stays.



United Press International

**FAMILY REUNION—Freed in Turkish general amnesty on Saturday, Briton Timothy Davey, 16, is welcomed by brothers and sisters following release in Izmir. He was sentenced to six years for selling marijuana in 1971.**

## Turkish Coalition Splits on Terms Of Amnesty on Political Prisoners

ANKARA, Turkey, May 19 (Reuters).—The Republican People's party, the dominant partner in Turkey's four-month-old ruling coalition, tonight decided to withdraw from the government, plunging the nation into a new political crisis.

The decision to withdraw followed four hours of debate within the party executive and the parliamentary group, the second such meeting in two days.

The uneasy alliance between Premier Bulent Ecevit's party and the pro-Islamic National Salvation party founded Wednesday when a score of NSP members voted against the government over an article in a amnesty bill providing for the release of political prisoners.

Mr. Ecevit had made freedom of political expression a matter of principle over which he was determined to have his way or resign.

## U.S. Mint Sees a Penny Saved As a Penny Out of Circulation

WASHINGTON, May 19 (AP).—The U.S. Bureau of the Mint is planning a nationwide campaign in an effort to ease the penny shortage.

Pennies are in such short supply that some supermarket chains have asked for permission to use paper scrip in place of pennies in their stores.

The Mint has not yet responded to these requests, although it promises an opinion soon on whether such a use of scrip would be legal.

The Mint is preparing plans for a nationwide drive to induce Americans to return their pennies to circulation, sources said. Details may be announced this week.

Enough pennies exist, a Mint spokesman said, noting that the Firestone Bank in Akron, Ohio, recently offered \$1.10 for every 100 pennies and got 1.2 million pennies.

Mary Brooks, the director of the Bureau of the Mint, said that pennies are just not being circulated.

"We estimate there are 30 billion pennies just languishing away in people's dressers, pickle jars, coffee cans, unloved and unwanted and unused, and they should be back in circulation," she said.

The Mint has doubled penny production this year, to 35 million coins a day. It could produce more, but only at a strain on its minting equipment, Miss Brooks said.

Earlier this year, the Mint proposed making pennies out of aluminum because of rising copper prices. The idea has been dropped, but Miss Brooks said many persons apparently are hoarding pennies, thinking they can sell them at a profit when the price of the copper content exceeds the value of the penny.

She said it is impractical because of the huge quantities of pennies that would be needed to make a significant profit.

"It's a phenomenon that when the American people hear there may be a shortage, they create one," Miss Brooks said.

Miss Brooks said the government also has started a study of the nation's coinage, including whether there is need for a 21-cent piece to help relieve the penny difficulties.

## U.S. Doctor Finds Alcohol May Cause Muscle Damage

By Harry Nelson

LOS ANGELES, May 19.—Evidence has been uncovered that heavy and prolonged drinking may damage muscle tissues, thereby causing the characteristic stumbling walk of a drunk.

Examined under a microscope, the muscle fibers resemble in some ways those of persons with one of the muscular dystrophy diseases.

Researchers are finding that the vast majority of alcoholics have signs of muscle damage, according to Dr. Theodore Munast, professor of neurology at the University of Southern California School of Medicine.

Enzyme tests, which measure whether muscle is breaking down, show high levels of such damage in 50 percent to 75 percent of the alcoholics tested at Los Angeles County-USC Medical Center, according to the physician, who is director of the neuromuscular unit at the medical center.

Only 10 percent to 15 percent have actual clinical symptoms of muscle weakness, however. In this group, the symptoms are difficulty in climbing stairs and lifting heavy objects and a gen-

## U.S. Military Presence in Laos Declines but Aid Continues

VIENTIANE, Laos, May 19 (AP).—The United States has financed and helped direct the so-called "secret war" in Laos for nearly a decade, dismantling its remaining military presence here.

Fifteen months after the Laotian cease-fire in February 1973, the U.S. presence in Vietnam has declined considerably. But the once catered exclusively to off-duty American pilots and Army attaches are now either deserted or closed. Signs say, "House for Rent" are now hanging on gateposts in the city neighborhoods where Americans lived.

At the time of the cease-fire, there were 216 American military men serving here. Army and Air Force attaches. Early next month, they will be cut to 30, according to the U.S. timetable.

One reason for the U.S. cutback is that when the Vietnamese government and the pro-Communist Pathet Lao formed a new coalition government here on April 8, they signed a peace agreement which said that all foreign troops had to be out of the country "within 90 days" of that date, June 6.

But U.S. officials said there is more to the pullback than a mere clause in the peace accord.

"The deadline obviously has quite a deal to do with the present situation," an official said, "but it isn't everything." After all, he added, the U.S. is still in Laos.

## Wife of Banker Seized, Freed for \$50,000 in Minn.

MINNEAPOLIS, May 19 (AP).—The FBI said yesterday that a Waverly, Minn., banker paid \$50,000 ransom for the release of his wife Thursday and notified authorities of the abduction after her safe return.

Police said a suspect has been arrested.

FBI agent Philip Enlow said that Daniel Graham, president of the Citizens' State Bank of Waverly, paid the ransom for the release of his wife, Ardis, 47.

Mr. Enlow said that Mrs. Graham was abducted Tuesday and set free late Wednesday. He said that Mr. Graham notified authorities of the abduction and ransom payment.

It was the second abduction of a banker's wife in two months in this area of Minnesota.

On March 15, Emme Krohn, wife of South St. Paul banker Gunna Krohn, was abducted, held for 30 hours and released after her husband paid a \$200,000 ransom.

All but \$80 of the ransom was recovered and three men have been charged in the abduction.

## Britain to Control Practice of Kung Fu

LONDON, May 19 (Reuters).—The British government will put curbs on the practice of kung fu, an Oriental fighting style that is gaining popularity in the West.

Denis Howell, minister of sport, said in the House of Commons that the government would set up a controlling committee for the ancient Chinese karate-type fighting.

The committee would be made up of representatives of the British Kung Fu Association and the British Karate Association.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of kung fu, which is a form of Chinese martial arts.

The committee would also be responsible for controlling the practice of karate, which is a form of Japanese martial arts.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of judo, which is a form of Japanese martial arts.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of taekwondo, which is a form of Korean martial arts.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of aikido, which is a form of Japanese martial arts.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of jujitsu, which is a form of Japanese martial arts.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of kendo, which is a form of Japanese martial arts.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of iaido, which is a form of Japanese martial arts.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of naginata, which is a form of Japanese martial arts.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of shurikenjutsu, which is a form of Japanese martial arts.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of taegeukgi, which is a form of Korean martial arts.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of taekwon-do, which is a form of Korean martial arts.

The committee would be responsible for controlling the practice of hapkido, which is a form of Korean martial arts.

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## U.S. Ready to Begin Removing Phantoms Based on Taiwan

By Leslie H. Gelb

WASHINGTON, May 19 (AP).—The United States is ready to begin removing Phantom fighters from Taiwan, according to a senior Pentagon official, who said the move would be made as soon as the Phantoms are no longer needed for the defense of Taiwan.

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## 65 South Koreans Face Trial, Death As Dissidents

SEOUL, May 19 (NYT).—A South Korean minister disclosed Friday that 65 Koreans and two Japanese will be put on trial before a closed court-martial for anti-government activities as President Chung Hee Park pushes a vigorous campaign to crush opposition here.

The Minister of Information, Yun Chu Yung, said in an interview that the 67 were turned over to a prosecutor by investigators Friday and would be tried shortly.

He convicted, the accused could receive the death penalty under a presidential decree of April 3. This will be the first trial under that measure. The court-martial, whose closed sessions usually last only one or two days, earlier sentenced 31 dissidents to prison for five to 15 years and suspended five sentences. There were no acquittals.

The accused were believed to include Lee Chul Yu in Tae, and An Yang No, university students involved in anti-government demonstrations on April 3. Others were believed to be Christian leaders who helped finance the demonstrations with contributions from their congregations.

Liu Reportedly Died In China Last Year

TOKYO, May 19 (Reuters).—China's ousted President, Liu Shao-chi, most certainly died of lung cancer in spring last year, the Japanese news agency Kyodo reported from Hong Kong, citing a reliable source.

Kyodo said the information concurred with a similar report from British sources last year.

Mr. Liu was purged from his post during the cultural revolution in the late 1960s. The post of president is still vacant.

Cosmos-654 Launched

MOSCOW, May 19 (AP).—The Soviet Union launched its 654th Cosmos satellite Friday "to continue space research," the Tass news agency said.

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# The Gaullist Legacy to France

By Don Cook

PARIS.—There has always been a kind of "son et lumiere" quality about Gaullism, even when the production was at its height and Charles de Gaulle himself was alive and directing. Sound and lights were dazzlingly arranged to evoke the power and glory of France—resounding declarations, diplomatic shock tactics, splendid isolation, spectacular journeys, warm embraces, brutal snubs, high principles and low blows. But now it has finally faded. As the French elected a president yesterday, Gaullism was a spent force.

There are, of course, plenty of Gaullists still around, some of them quite important, and there are 123 members of the National Assembly who were elected under the Gaullist banner in 1973. But Gaullist domination of French politics is finished, and the French themselves are left wondering what the reality of Gaullism really was. Was it all slogans and pronouncements? What has France inherited from those heady years? What Gaullist principles and precepts will still prevail in French policy?

"All my life," Gen. de Gaulle wrote in the famous opening passage of his war memoirs, "I have thought of France in a certain way . . . as chosen for an exalted and exceptional destiny . . . only vast enterprises are capable of counterbalancing the ferment of disintegration inherent in her people. In short, to my mind, France cannot be France without greatness."

And the general departed after having frequently commented that he would have no successor. He himself apparently preferred that Gaullism would stand out by itself as a brief period of greatness in French history with chaos preceding it and mediocrity following it.

Gaullism was, indeed, about 80 percent style and 20 percent content and reality. The general had plenty of style, and was a past master at elevating trivia into political principle.

There was the occasion in 1962 when he sent the Mona Lisa to New York for exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. But



at the same time he was feuding with the United Nations over its decision to send a peacekeeping force to the Congo, and he instructed Ambassador Hervé Alphand in Washington to decline a dinner party invitation from Mayor John Lindsay in New York to mark the Mona Lisa showing because UN Secretary-General U Thant had also been invited. Mr. Thant gracefully withdrew with a diplomatic illness, and Mr. Alphand attended in triumph at this demonstration of France's "greatness" in humiliating the Secretary-General.

Nobody could succeed the gen-

eral in this kind of "Gaullism." The trouble which everybody immediately had when he departed from the scene was deciding what Gaullism really was.

Georges Pompidou, a pragmatic man, paid lip service constantly to the principles of Gen. de Gaulle but he paved the way for Britain to enter the European Common Market, stopped interference in Quebec, called off doctrinaire attacks on the United States, devalued the French franc, eased up on relations with NATO, and stayed cool and cooperative in the long and frustrating American search for a way out of Viet-

nam. Was this Gaullism in action or was it not?

The very fact that the Gaullist political party, the Union of Democrats for the Fifth Republic, turned into such a defeated and squabbling group so soon after Mr. Pompidou's death is ample demonstration that there is not and never had been any such thing as true Gaullism except in the person and presence of the general himself. Today, Gaullism is nothing but the reflexes, reactions and rhetoric of those who claim to be its inheritors and interpreters, and they are all different.

Nevertheless, the Gaullist Fifth Republic has already lasted four years longer than the Fourth Republic, which expired in 1959 after barely 12 years of constitutional existence. Certain realities must, therefore, stand out from all the rhetoric.

First of all, France is politically and economically stable and strong—and this is a true Gaullist inheritance. There are problems and there are troubles ahead, but there is a framework of stability and government which works.

Secondly, French politicians of all shades, from the left to the extreme right, all rally and salute that magic Gaullist word "independence."

It is a simple fact of life that Gen. de Gaulle succeeded in reactivating the force and idealism of the word "independence" in France to a point where the simplest act of common-sense cooperation can instantly be elevated into a matter of high principle. To cooperate with anybody is to sacrifice independence. Hence every invitation or overture to France is automatically examined in this light, and advantages for France gauged by this fundamental approach.

In short, it is perfectly possible and always has been for France to have an independent policy, a Gaullist policy, but still accommodate itself and play an effective and influential role. As a nation, it is far stronger in real economic terms today than it was in De Gaulle's time. And, hopefully, it will be a little bit more serene in the future as well.

Los Angeles Times

## Atlantic Alliance Views

# What Two Triangles Mean to Today's World

By Robert A. Scalapino

BERKELEY, Calif.—Two triangular relations are of special importance to the world today. One is the United States-Soviet Union-China relation, vital with respect to war and peace issues of nuclear weapon control, disarmament, and peaceful coexistence. The other is the United States-West Europe-Japan relation, critical to prosperity and development issues, monetary, trade and investment policies, as well as to the theory problem of relations between the "advanced" and "emerging" societies.

But both of these three-way relationships pose the most complex difficulties. Communications among the major actors remain limited and strained. Basic policy agreement is exceedingly elusive. Why?

In the U.S.-West European-Japanese triangle, recent history and contemporary trends have interacted to produce several major contradictions. On the one hand, in the aftermath of World War II, remarkable political unity and economic development were achieved in the West and Japan as a result of three factors: desperate needs, a dispersed threat and American largesse.

Organic unity, to be sure, was not achieved, nor sought. Relations between West Europe and Japan, indeed, remained quite minimal with the United States the key link in the overlapping alliance. Nonetheless, basic political and economic trends within the "advanced world" appeared to be relatively uniform.

Today, diversity competes with unity. Nationalism has re-emerged as a vital, possibly dominant force within the so-called advanced world, both in the economic and in the political arena. Contrary to common assumption, moreover, important differences exist in the economic structures. Thus, the trends may be running as strongly toward economic as toward political, multipolarism.

Few would deny that parliamentary democracy faces its most serious crisis since World War II. A combination of economic and social problems threatens to overwhelm a system that has always been recognized as fragile by careful observers.

**Challenges to Authority**

Contrary to the Marxist opinion, most of these problems are not the product of economic stagnation or political repression. On the contrary, they are the result of unprecedented economic growth and new levels of political freedom. It remains true, however, that the current trend is running strongly in the direction of political instability throughout the democratic world. A few months ago, public opinion polls revealed that scarcely a single political leader of the major democratic societies, including

This is another article of a series published in the International Herald Tribune on the problems and differences of Europe-U.S. relations. The series is being coordinated by Joseph Godson, who organized the Europe-American Conference in Amsterdam last year.

Japan, had the support of more than a third of his electorate.

In Western Europe, every government rests upon the narrowest margin of support and challenges to authority and legitimacy loom large. In Japan, the long-time control of the conservative Liberal Democratic party appears threatened, not merely by the growing strength of the opposition, but also by the increasingly deep cleavages within conservative circles.

It is possible that the continuing weaknesses of the opposition, and divisiveness in their ranks, will prolong the status quo. At no time in the post-1945 period, however, have Japanese politics seemed less predictable.

Meanwhile, as is now commonly recognized, the United States faces the gravest problems of internal unity in decades, problems fed by the most bitter administration-media battle in the memory of American citizens.

Under these circumstances, a drift away from international concerns by the population is natural. The vital issues lie closer to home—connected with the great changes in life-style which the industrial revolution in its climactic stages is producing. Uncertainty and disillusionment with politics have also led to widespread apathy. Hence, the mood at the grass-roots is toward narrowness, not breadth.

At present, popular sentiment in the major democratic states does not support international cooperation, let alone innovation. Rather, the current mood is one of neo-isolationism in the United States, neo-nationalism in Europe and Japan, and protectionism everywhere.

And, in the absence of dynamic, popular leadership, there is no new vision or symbolism to counteract these trends. There is, thus, the danger that even if our political leaders achieve certain technical solutions to current international problems, these solutions will be forced to struggle for survival in a hostile political atmosphere.

Special cultural and political circumstances also pose obstacles. Japan, like Britain, is an island nation lying off a vast continent, and the great historic issue for the two nations has been similar: close cooperation with, or separation from, that continent? The answer to this question can never be absolute—nor permanent. Thus, the effort of some Western statesmen to move Japan solidly into "the Atlantic community" can never succeed. Japan will always remain partially an Asian society despite its

deep involvement with the "advanced" industrial world. And its economic-political interests in Asia will probably grow rather than decline in the years immediately ahead.

Meanwhile, the belated European discovery of Japan has been accompanied by strong apprehensions. The specter of a yeddy industrial giant, justified or not, supports protectionist instincts and restrained contacts. For its part, Japan feels a certain discomfort in strimming alone in a foreign, white sea—the only non-Western member of an advanced industrial club whose mores and rules remain questionable.

For these reasons among others, bilateral relations between the United States and Japan as well as between the United States and West Europe will continue to be highly important. In the economic sphere, in the political sphere, continuing tensions are at work. Contrary to this common impression, the advanced industrial societies are not at the same stage of development at this point. The United States is moving into a phase in which service industries are rapidly increasing in importance at the expense of manufacturing industries.

Japan, on the other hand, has the problem of arrest and retardation of energy dependency at a time when hopes continue to rest upon heavy industrial and chemical exports.

Western Europe, too, closer in the respects to Japan, with the additional complex problem of seeking to achieve economic integration in the Common Market in such a manner as to cope with a persistent political isolationism on the one hand, and to take account of American and Japanese needs on the other.

## Autarchy Pressures

Given the political and economic trends outlined above, the pressures on behalf of autarchy become understandable. And no, certain experts believe that the most realistic prospect for the immediate future is an uneasy coexistence of economic independence, with the United States, West Europe and Japan each becoming powerful centers of economic interaction in its own right.

In considerable degree, this trend has been under way for some time. Economic and political multipolarism, however, have their limits—both in the political realm, the dominant international body remains unbalanced, and power politics, as even Russian and Chinese leaders illustrate. In the social, moreover, they still rely too heavily upon the state for the protection of their people or of a stable power. Thus, the West European, the political integration seems present there, albeit, should the two countries, and more particularly, the Soviet Union be confronted by

separate (and much weaker) states, or should a greater degree of political-military integration within Europe be sought? And should West Europe continue to lean to one side, preserving its alliance with the United States, or should it move toward "neutrality" on the assumption that ideological-institutional differences and the factor of proximity marking off the Soviet Union and the United States have lost their significance for Europe?

Japan has somewhat different, yet similar alternatives: whether to practice self-sufficiency in political and military matters or even to re-emerge as a political-military power in Asia; continue to rely upon the United States in defense matters; or seek a neutralist stance.

## Neutralist Quotient

Since all alliances, in this era are less tightly knit, more porous, a certain tendency toward "neutrality" on the assumption that ideological-institutional differences and the factor of proximity marking off the Soviet Union and the United States have lost their significance for Europe? Japan has somewhat different, yet similar alternatives: whether to practice self-sufficiency in political and military matters or even to re-emerge as a political-military power in Asia; continue to rely upon the United States in defense matters; or seek a neutralist stance.

Similarly, in the economic realm, autarchy—single-nation or regional—will be a significant factor in this period of rapidly moving, diversified trends, but it cannot be the all-controlling force. A viable international monetary system, suitable trade and investment policies, and a host of other issues in the economic sphere demand joint efforts on the part of the United States, West Europe and Japan at this point. But there must also be the clear recognition that such efforts can only be supplements to, not substitutes for domestic, regional and bilateral policies.

The twin keys to our times are complexity and coordination. Multifaceted approaches to our most basic international issues—political and economic—are essential. But these approaches must be carefully coordinated. In concrete terms, this means that if the work of experts at one level is to be effective, we must find a way to revitalize democratic politics at another level, so that our peoples will be prepared to support rational, complicated international policies. It is in these respects that the United States, West Europe and Japan share momentous common problems and, hopefully, can find appropriate responses.

Robert A. Scalapino is professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, and editor of Asian Survey. He is the author of numerous books and articles on Asia.

"This is what I mean by the excesses. The Sharon Tate-Charles Manson case comes to mind. That was an incredibly interesting story for us. But in a short time there were other massacres, big killings. On a European newspaper you wind up equating a lot of things that happen in the United States with things that happen in Pakistan—it's a kind of 'so what' reaction."

# Everything's Up to Date in Schnitzel City —It Too Doesn't Love the U.S. Any More

By John Vinocur

FRANKFURT (AP)—The Big Schnitzel, the GIs call Frankfurt. It is: Fat banks sitting on reinforced concrete haunches, trees greening with spring and immediately graying with dust from roadway digging, bars like the Florida Boy one door down from Dr. Muller's orange-fronted sex department store, hookers catnapping on the corners.

Dirt, crassness, money badly spent, noise—some Germans say the city is a ruthless caricature of what Europeans find worst in the United States.

After 20 years in which Schnitzel City offered Americans post-war humbleness and assimilated the electric toothbrush and U.S.-type urban problems, things are changing. Some people think that, having chosen poorly from what the United States has to offer, Frankfurt and much of Western Europe are backing away from the fascination they found in things American.

A U.S. Army lieutenant tells of trying to buy an electrical fixture and running into a salesman who refused to speak English and is impatient with the lieutenant's rudimentary German. The officer apologizes to the man, saying he's been in the country only two months.

"In two months in an American prison-of-war camp had English perfect learned," the salesman replies. "We are finished learning from you. Now you learn from us."

A German who has real understanding and affection for the United States says a lot of the old fascination is gone. "We have proved to ourselves that we can do bad things every bit as successfully as you do—look at Frankfurt—and we may be able to do some good ones better. The old inferiority complex is just about gone."

It is not just Frankfurt. Unscientific and occasionally contradictory, subjective evidence argues that an increasing number of Europeans consider America less and less a model or marvel.

In West Germany, after a generation of television viewing centered on Ross Cartwright, "Bonanza" and other canned American shows, sometimes two

a night, the two national networks are down to two new U.S. series a week. An official of the ZDF color network explained, "Everybody still enjoys a Western, but most other things don't reflect our life or aspirations."

In the same color network's headquarters in Wiesbaden, two secretarial jobs were offered simultaneously to the house staff. One was in Rome, the other in the network's Washington office at higher pay and benefits. There were 34 applications for the Rome job and two for the post in Washington.

David Rosenthal, a director of Merrill Lynch in Paris, told a friend at lunch, "If most of the American offices here had to go into their French executive or middle management asking

their totals, the number of Frenchmen, Italians, Germans and Britons emigrating to the United States in 1973 decreased.

In France, for example, over the four-year period from 1969 to 1973, the number of emigrants to the United States fell by 25 percent, from about 5,000 to 1,500 annually. In Germany, the decrease was from 8,700 to 5,700 and in Italy from 25,500 to 21,000.

With Europe wealthier and the dollar weaker, more tourists and businessmen felt that traveling to the United States came within their reach. In France, the number of non-immigrant U.S. visas issued rose from 33,000 in 1964 to 106,000 in 1973. At the same time, however, the rise in student visas, a gauge of young people's interest and respect for a coun-

try, went up only fractionally.

During the first half of 1964, there were 300 French applications for student visas to the United States. By 1973, they had increased to only 894.

In Britain, the brain drain—emigration of professional people to the United States for better salaries and working conditions—leveled off about three years ago and, according to a U.S. immigration Service official, "is just about a thing of the past."

● "You can't blow a European's mind any more by showing him a wall oven."

● "It may be that a lot of people no longer need the kind of escape that American films gave them."

● "It was blind love, and when you fall out of love, everything seems wrong with the person. It's a bit like that."

for a man to move to the States, they'd find people hiding under their desks. Ten, 15 years ago, they would have lined up outside the door. You can't blow a European's mind any more by showing him a wall oven."

● In Paris, where U.S. Western and gangster movies are dissected by eager critics, attendance at American films dropped 25 percent in 1973, despite "The Godfather," a world box-office money spinner. Foreign movie attendance declined in general, but the American drop was startling because attendance at French films improved. A French film distributor said, "It may be that a lot of people no longer need the kind of escape that American films gave them."

Immigration figures attest to a drying-up of interest. While Canada, New Zealand and Australia have generally increased

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## Pop Music

Even in pop music, the old allegiances have faded. For years, with the exception of the English, Continental pop groups were content to rip off the Americans in the local language. Frenchmen borrowed American names—Johnny Halliday, Eddie Mitchell, Black River—and sang more records. Now the groups are Mucedades,

## Flagging Interest

Benoit Rayski, the young for eign editor of France-Solr, the largest-selling French evening newspaper, finds less interest in America, especially in what he calls "your excesses." Not too long ago, Mr. Rayski said, the newspaper usually sent a man to the United States a couple of times a year just to drive around talk to steelworkers, blacks, movie stars and come back to write a series.

"Well, we've stopped that," he said. "The series always seemed to come out the same, and the truth was you'd have a much harder time throwing a headline like 'Fascinating America' at them. French people's interest in the biggest, the tallest, the richest is faded, I think."

"This is what I mean by the excesses," The Sharon Tate-Charles Manson case comes to mind. That was an incredibly interesting story for us. But in a short time there were other massacres, big killings. On a European newspaper you wind up equating a lot of things that happen in the United States with things that happen in Pakistan—it's a kind of 'so what' reaction."

"All those people waiting a line for gas this winter, for example. Some years ago the would have been a big story it was. Perhaps we'd run one picture now. I imagine the reaction of a lot of our readers would be, 'If they didn't build that stupid big cars, they wouldn't have half as much trouble.' A lot of the old envy is gone."

# The Great Revolution Begins to Arrive in Tehran

By James F. Clarity

TEHRAN (NYT)—There is an oil shortage in this oasis capital that seems as annoying to Iranians as waiting in gasoline-station lines was to Americans and Europeans.

While fuel-export money and high hopes have accelerated the pace of life in Tehran, its residents are complaining that they cannot buy enough vegetable oil, mostly used for cooking. Gasoline costs about 40 cents a gallon here, and such a relatively low price is considered every Iranian driver's bittersweet. Forty cents is also supposed to be able to buy about a pound of vegetable shortening. But the scarcity of this oil is considered a kitchen catastrophe.

No one, especially the consumer, seems to know exactly what is causing the shortening shortage. A Tehran newspaper said: "The situation remains somewhat confused." It is possible, however, that the Netherlands may be able to help Iran with its oil crisis. Iran supplies the Dutch with fuel oil; the Dutch supply Iranians with vegetable oil.

Two months ago, a strain between Iran and the Netherlands developed when the Iranian ambassador was called back to Tehran, asserting that the Dutch police had failed to protect his embassy properly during a demonstration there by dissident Iranian students. The rift, according to knowledgeable diplomats, has now been healed, and the ambassador may soon return to The Hague. Whether this will help lubricate the cooking pots of Tehran remains to be seen.

## Modern Times

Still, the prosperity of the times in Iran—with an expected quadrupling of national income from increased fuel-oil prices—has Tehran's residents rushing about the city as if the great civilization advocated by Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, who rules this

land, were already here. From the snow-topped Elburz Mountains on the northern edge of town, where many of the wealthy live, to the brown hills to the south, near where the other people live, Tehran is sweeping into the age of automobile-clogged streets, soaring rents and the propensity to consume, or demand, the colorful and shiny artifacts of Western culture.

Along the streets of this city of 3.5 million, about half the women still wear chadors, the Islamic veils that cover them from head to foot. But often a stray breeze whips a chador open to reveal a red-velvet suit and patent-leather platform shoes.

This is not considered irreverent, merely fortunate or unfortunate depending on the beholder or the beheld. Fashionable men wear turtleneck sweaters; most men have black mustaches.

## Paris Clothes

The largest department store in town, Sair, now boasts Paris clothes and has three detectives roaming its floors in search of shoplifters. The management decided not to use a television

security system because it felt that most of its customers were honest and would respect electronic surveillance.

Color television is slated to appear next year. So is a new plant that will produce Winston cigarettes under an agreement with American producers. Tehran residents are said to prefer Winstons and can tell the difference when they smoke an ersatz American cigarette.

Warnings about health hazards and smoking are not printed on cigarette packages here, but there is some acknowledgment that the habit may be harmful. This week an 11-year-old boy, Joudi Akhlaghi, was hospitalized for an ailment described as chain smoking. He said he would try to switch to a pipe when the hospital released him.

Water runs down from the mountains into trenches called futes to keep the city's trees alive and green, but Tehran is probably the largest city in the world without a flowing sewage system.

A health official warned recently that the city would one day be giving out a honeycomb of opspools unless a modern

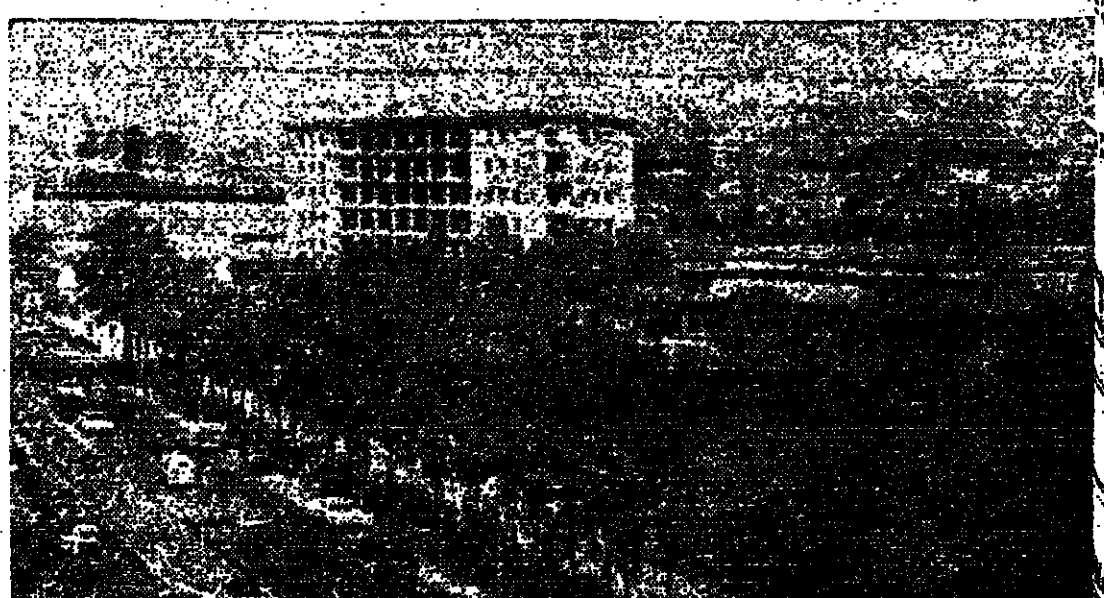
system were installed. It is in the planning stage.

Around the terraces and cocktail lounges of the major hotels, which are all booked full these days, sit Western businessmen and engineers with statistics and diagrams of things they hope to sell here to share in Iran's progress. There are West German engineers going into the desert to try to breed cattle, American engineers on their way to the city of Isfahan, where Bell helicopters are being phased into the Iran scene by the dozens.

## Another Tongue

The newcomers do not speak Farsi, the Iranian language, and the Iranian writers and models in the hotels do not speak much English, French or German. But the lure of profit seems to be everyone communicating awkwardly.

While there seems to be little awareness in Tehran of Iran difficulties with its neighbor to the west, Iraq, the government has not forgotten. An air-raid test, complete with sirens and people taking shelter, is scheduled for an undisclosed time in the near future.



A view of Shahrzad Avenue in Tehran



# Rumblings of Autonomy Grow in Swiss Jura as Vote Nears: 'Oui' or 'Nein'

State-Chief Alan Tiller.  
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it happen

## Private Interests vs. the Public Interest

By Samuel Abt  
ny M

Why is it that  
presidential campaigns  
are tedious reading? The  
answer must be the  
of the candidates, as the  
comment of R. L. Men-  
derson is that system  
ment under which the  
saying 60,000,000 native-  
born whites to choose from  
thousands who are  
and many who are  
to a Colledge to be  
state. It is as if a hungry  
before a banquet pre-  
master cooks and cover  
the table with a feast  
back upon the feast and  
stomach by catching and  
so many flies.

Mr. Crouse furnishes  
that another part of the  
must be the stature of  
Mr. McGovern who travels with  
the and detail their every  
and speech, month after  
month. Which is what Mr.  
himself has done, com-  
ing instead on the press  
at traveled with Sen.  
McGovern in 1972 during  
his unsuccessful chase af-  
ter Nixon.

"Boys on the Bus" is the  
h of an article written  
ing Stone, but bearing  
the hyperthyroid prose of  
Mr. Crouse has a good eye  
and he has written a  
day. Its main point, made  
and often, is that the cam-  
paign is hamstrung by a lack  
of physical exhaustion  
and a frightful dedication to

of skill seems to be the  
these flaws. In a portrait  
Apple Jr. of The New  
Times one, incidentally,  
ms to have lost much of  
in since its appearance in  
Stone). Mr. Crouse hints  
had most reporters are by  
hedging how good Mr.  
is. "Not only did other re-  
sponders' articles for  
information, they also  
him for guidance when  
they had to cover a story  
there were no handouts, no  
yes and no easy winners."  
ing a McGovern campaign  
wa predict caucuses of  
T. 1972, when delegates to  
mocratic National Conven-  
are elected.

at happened," the Mc-  
goner is quoted as hav-  
ing "that Apple sat in a  
and everyone peered over  
older to find out what he  
was doing. The AP guy was  
over one shoulder, the  
over the other and CBS,  
BC and the Baltimore Sun  
crowding in behind Sen.  
"like a primary. No one  
ow to interpret these dis-  
body knew what was going  
and he was had they all  
king it off Apple.

ould sit down and write a  
nd they would go write  
nd they'd change his lead  
over results came in, and  
all change their accord-  
Apple sat down to write  
story. He called it some-  
ke a surprisingly strong  
for George McGovern.  
dy peered over his shoul-  
der and picked it up. It was  
front page of every major  
er the next day."

urly with Walter Mears of  
icated Press, about whom  
ter is quoted as having  
he can get out a coherent  
th the right point on top  
ute and thirty seconds.  
ided. It's like a parlor  
He watches some goddam  
if a half hour and he un-  
is the most important

northern part of the country who  
seek the quasi-independence en-  
joyed by Swiss cantons for their  
picturesque region of wooded  
mountains, gorges and high grazing  
lands.

After 25 years of proclamations  
and pressure—and a few acts of  
terrorism—they are being per-  
mitted to vote on their future.  
At the moment, the Jura forms  
part of the canton of Bern, where

the French-speaking Juraissiens  
are outnumbered seven to one by  
German-speakers.

This weekend, thousands of  
these mountain folk poured into  
Porrentruy, the ancient capital  
of Jura, for a special congress of  
the movement, the Rassemble-  
ment Juraissien, called to decide  
whether to boycott the autonomy  
referendum on June 23 or to vote  
"oui."

Why the doubt? Under Switzer-  
land's complicated system of  
referendum decision-making, the  
German-speaking Juraissien dis-  
tricts, which will almost certainly  
vote against autonomy on June  
23, will be allowed a second vote,  
enabling them to choose to stay  
with their Bernese German coun-  
sins and so split the Jura in half.  
The two-day Juraissien rally  
opened with a concert by the

French folk singer Regine. An-  
drey, a supporter of minority  
movements. These 5,000 young  
Juraissiens marched through the  
town in a long column, carrying  
At Porrentruy's main hall, the  
Juraissien delegates voted 504 to 1  
to back autonomy, even if it  
means a divided Jura.

However, the majority of the  
autonomists feel that the long  
struggle for self-government  
which has its historical roots in  
the decision of the Congress of  
Vienna in 1815 to attach the old  
Jura principally to Bern, dates  
that Juraissien grab what was  
truncated territory they can.

The new small nation which  
would result from approval of the  
referendum would be Switzer-  
land's 26th and would have wide  
powers of self-rule while leaving  
foreign affairs and defense in the  
hands of the confederation.

The Juraissiens talk of a new  
"etat" (state) rather than can-  
ton. They already look north to  
the French Jura. They have  
sentimental linguistic and cul-  
tural ties with their French coun-  
sins and want to expand trade  
links.

"We are criticized for trying to  
create a new canton when Europe  
is seeking to unite," admits one  
of the Rassemblement leaders,  
Jean-Michel Girardin, a sales-  
man.

"But we don't intend to put  
ourselves in," he said. "We want  
to open up to the world, particu-  
larly the north where the center  
of the Common Market  
lies. Paris along the Rhone-  
Rhine link will be a catalyst."

His home of Montecorbo is  
much smaller than the capital of  
Bern, but it is a beautiful town  
with a long history. The Juraissien  
movement is a natural outgrowth  
of the historical desire for  
autonomy.

Montecorbo is a small town  
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movement is a natural outgrowth  
of the historical desire for  
autonomy.

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There is also heavy pressure on  
the "Germans" to abstain from  
voting.

But another local politician,  
Dr. Paul Gehler, favors continued  
integration with Bern and stated:  
"We pay 40 million (Swiss francs  
—\$13.8 million) in taxes and re-  
ceive 60 million in return while  
Bern in its kindness, also gives  
us 30 percent of the budget for  
roads instead of the 14 percent  
due to us. When you are well  
treated, you don't lack your dance  
in the backside. The Rassemble-  
ment wants to change things by  
force, but the Swiss people love  
democracy too much to agree to  
that."

It's going to be a short, very  
sharp campaign before June 23.  
On one side is yet another Euro-  
pean minority revolting against  
what it considers excessive cen-  
tralized control. On the other  
are those who feel, like Dr. Gehler,  
that "it is crazy to set up a mini-  
mum state," a sort of Liechten-  
stein at the other end of Switzer-  
land.

The political debate is heating  
up in the taverns. The moni-  
tors fear the loss of southern  
Jura where the German-speakers  
may tip the balance. Editor Be-  
guelin advises the Juraissiens to  
accept even a limited canton and  
constantly draws a comparison  
with the Israelis.

"They got a state on territory  
with impossible borders. Then  
they broke out from the corset."

Thus was the line preached by  
him and other leaders when the  
Juraissiens poured into Porrentruy  
with their banners this weekend.

### THE BOYS ON THE BUS

Riding With  
the Campaign Press  
Corps.

By Timothy Crouse.  
Random House  
371 pp. \$7.95.

thing that happened—that hap-  
pened in public, I mean?

In case his readers are slow to  
understand that Mr. Mears has  
just been praised for simply being  
able to do his job, Mr. Crouse  
then tells of the scene in the  
pressroom during a debate be-  
tween Sen. McGovern and Sen.  
Hubert Humphrey during the  
California primary while both  
were seeking the Democratic  
nomination.

"Two other reporters," Mr.  
Crouse writes, "one from New  
York, another from Chicago,  
headed toward Mears shouting,  
'Lead? Lead?'" A Boston reporter  
"came at him from another direc-  
tion. 'Walter, Walter, what's our  
lead?' he said."

To other, nonjournalistic, words,  
the reporters were asking Mr.  
Mears to tell them what they had  
just heard.

### Many Examples

Alas, there are many examples  
of such bumbling. Mr. Crouse re-  
ports that in the last weeks of the  
campaign, just before Mr. Nixon  
was to win with 60.83 percent of  
the vote, two New York Times re-  
porters were betting that Sen.  
McGovern would come within five  
and two points, respectively, of  
Mr. Nixon. There's more of this.  
On the Sunday before the elec-  
tion, when The Times said on its  
front page that Sen. McGovern  
had a chance to win only two  
states, Massachusetts and Wiscon-  
sin, the entire McGovern press  
corps attempted to bet the writer  
of the article that Sen. McGovern  
would win more than that. He  
won only Massachusetts among  
the states.

The second indictment—al-  
though the book is so generally  
genial that this may be too harsh  
a word—levelled by Mr. Crouse  
against the press corps is its phys-  
ical exhaustion. He makes this  
point early and often, too, start-  
ing with an account of the phone  
call at 6:45 a.m. that awakens  
each reporter at a hotel in Los  
Angeles. "It was lonely on these  
early mornings," Mr. Crouse notes,  
"and often excruciatingly painful  
to tear oneself away from a brief,  
sudden spell of sleep."

Mr. Crouse then describes the  
way the reporters are herded—  
there is no other word—out of the  
hotel and into a bus, out of the  
bus for a breakfast appearance by  
the candidate, back into the bus,  
back off the bus for a television  
raping, back into the bus, back  
off the bus for a luncheon and  
a dash for telephones and  
Telexes, back into the bus for an  
afternoon identical to the morn-  
ing. And a tomorrow identical to  
today.

This routine, Mr. Crouse points  
out, establishes a herd instinct,  
the same instinct that drives  
cattle into a stampede. He de-  
scribes James Doyle of the Wash-  
ington Star in mood of doubt:  
"...Dead tired from a week on  
the road (late in the campaign  
that runs from February until  
November). Later that night  
there would be a McGovern  
television and Democratic party  
dinner to cover..."

"A lot of people," he said, "look  
at this coverage as if it were some  
kind of a cross-country race—you  
gotta get two paragraphs in when

he stops at Indianapolis and two  
more when he stops at New York. If  
you do it that way, without mak-  
ing any meaning out of it, it is  
going to come out like some crazy  
disjointed trip across the country."

"The problem is, if you try to  
write every day, you get caught  
up in sheer exhaustion. It's as  
simple as that. You do it by  
rote, because that's all you've got  
the energy for. It's the lack of  
sleep, the keeping up with dead-  
lines, the disorientation from all  
this flying around—your mind  
just goes blank after a while.  
When it comes time to write the  
story, all you can do is just kind  
of a level job of stumbling through  
the day's events."

Although he offers no prescrip-  
tion for the reader who wants  
more than a "stumbling through"  
of the candidate's position, Mr.  
Crouse is quite busy as a diag-  
nostician. This is another of his  
chilling portraits:

"If you stayed away from the  
campaign for any period of time  
and then came on again, the first  
thing that struck you was the  
shocking physical deterioration of  
the press corps. During the sum-  
mer, the reporters had looked  
fairly healthy. Now their skin  
was pasty and greenish, they had  
ugly dark pouches under their  
glazed eyes, and their bodies had  
become bloated with the regimen  
of nonstop drinking and five or  
six starchy airplane meals every  
day. Toward the end, they began  
to suffer from a fiendish combina-  
tion of fatigue and anxiety. They  
had arrived at the last two weeks,  
when the public finally wanted  
to read about the campaign—  
front-page play every day!—and  
they were so tired that it nearly  
killed them to pound out a decent  
piece."

"The reporters were trying  
desperately to write well, but it  
sometimes took them five minutes  
to think of the answers to a  
simple question. At filing time,  
everyone would suddenly become  
fidgety and manic—smoking,  
crumpling papers, biting finger-  
nails, shouting into phones, cursing  
on the last dregs of nervous  
energy—and then they would  
lapse back into catatonia. To do  
a decent job, they often had to  
war up all night to finish a long  
piece, and there was no way to  
catch up on sleep. They were  
coming down to the wire—they  
had to save a few volts of energy  
to grind out long pre- and post-  
election articles. Yet all they  
could feel was numbness..."

"During the last week, the press  
bus looked like a Black Maria,  
sent out to round up wines: half  
the reporters were passed out  
with their mouths wide open and  
their notebooks fallen in their  
laps. When they were awake,  
they often wandered like zombies.

On one of the last days of the  
campaign, Jules Witcover walked  
from the Biltmore Hotel to a rally  
in midtown Manhattan and had  
to be repeatedly stopped from  
sleepwalking into traffic against  
the red light. Bill Greider, per-  
haps the most exhausted man on  
the plane, had a strange habit  
of placing his arms by his sides,  
as if wearing an imaginary strat-  
t jacket, and walking around in  
circles. Toward the end, the only  
thing that stimulated Greider's  
adrenal glands was martial music,  
and he recorded the high school  
bands at every rally. Later, when  
he needed a shot of energy in the  
pressroom, he would turn up his  
Sony all the way and bang away  
at his Olivetti as 'Onward Chris-  
tian Soldiers' or 'Happy Days'  
blasted out of the speaker."

Mercifully, Mr. Crouse does not  
harp on the insights that were  
being gathered and reported by  
such zombies.

Throughout this bleak narra-  
tive, the reader is left in no  
doubt why reporters go through  
this mortification. Mr. Crouse  
gives a first hint by discussing  
what he terms the "low-grade  
hysteria" of campaign reporting:  
"To file a story late, or to make  
one glaring factual error, was to  
chance losing everything—one's  
job, one's expense account, one's  
drinking buddies, one's mud-dash  
existence, and the methedrine  
buzz that comes from knowing  
stories that the public would not  
know for hours and secrets that  
the public would never know."

Is this truly the way news-  
papermen look to an outsider,  
with not even a suspicion that  
the point of the enterprise is to  
inform the reader? In this writer  
of perquisites, did the press corps  
never imply a sense of mission?

Mr. Crouse has no interest in  
this question, because, seemingly,  
his subjects do not. What he  
focuses on instead throughout his  
book is the stretch of careerism  
in the press bus.

A campaign reporter's  
career is linked to the fortunes  
of his candidate. If he is writ-  
ing about the front runner, he  
is guaranteed front-page play for  
his articles, and, as Walter Mears  
once told me, "Everything is  
measured by play in the front  
pages." If he can hang on to a  
winner through the primaries, he  
will probably be assigned to  
follow him through the fall elec-  
tion—perhaps all the way to the  
White House.

A campaign reporter who  
covers one of the two major can-  
didates is usually headed for  
bigger things. The presidential  
politics beat is one or two steps  
down from being a junior or  
senior executive on the paper.  
David Broder said after the elec-  
tion. "Most of the guys who  
covered the first campaign that  
I was on in 1960 are now editors  
of the editorial pages of their  
papers, or managing editors, or  
bureau chiefs who spend most of  
their time doing stuff around  
Washington..."

### A Constant Point

Again and again Mr. Crouse  
makes this point:

"The regular White House cor-  
respondents," he writes, "could  
be divided into two basic types.  
There were the old-timers, who  
had come into the job as a suc-  
cure, a reward for long years of  
faithful service; to them, the  
pressroom was one more quiet  
men's club. And there were the  
young, ambitious types... who  
saw the job as a showcase for  
their talents. If they did well,  
they would move up to become  
bureau chiefs and editors..."

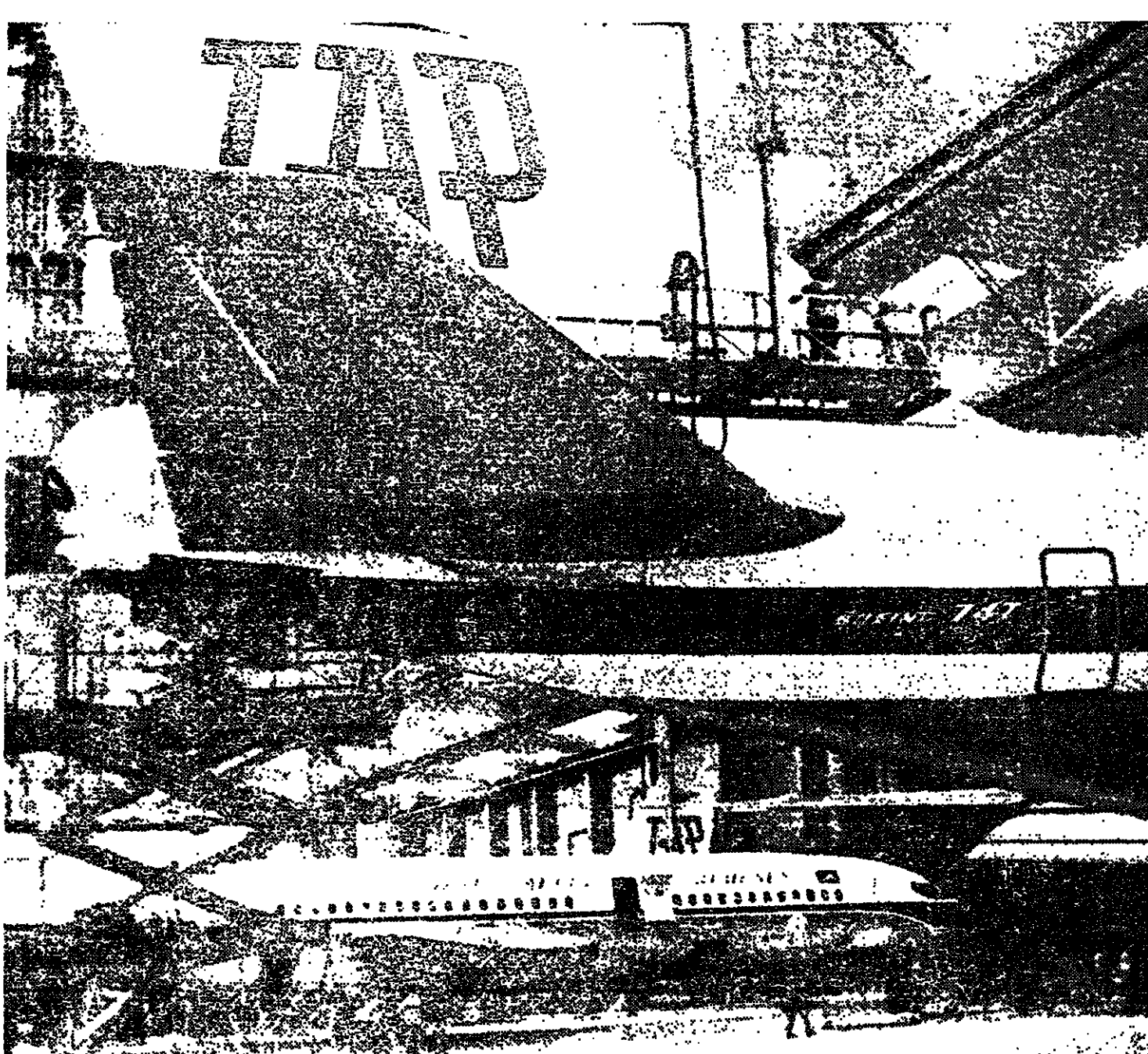
Somewhere about the middle of  
this book, plowing through the  
constant travels of the candidate  
and the hazards of reporting the  
same events day after day, the  
reader may be struck with the  
fortunes of baseball writers,  
whose job is almost exactly iden-  
tical to that of political reporters,  
minus the pomposity. Night  
game in Detroit today, a plane  
trip and an inhospitable hotel to  
accompany the day game in Mil-  
waukee tomorrow. A double  
header the next day and then  
another flight and night game in  
Oakland the next day, with the  
quality of the baseball as super-  
ficially unvarying as the can-  
didate's set speeches on foreign  
policy and cotton subsidies.

Day games, night games and  
double headers, hurried meals  
and scrambling for interviews  
and quotes, the sleep bought  
with liquor and the deadlines paid  
for in anxiety dreams, and yet  
nobody tells stories about base-  
ball writers similar to those in  
Mr. Crouse's book. No baseball  
writer predicts in the spring that  
an all-time no-hit shortstop will  
lead the league in home runs;  
nobody says in August that the  
San Diego Padres have a shot  
at the pennant; nobody dashes  
around shouting "Lead? Lead?"  
as the ninth inning ends.

There is no ambition gnawing  
at baseball writers, when they  
make it big, they manage only to  
continue covering baseball games.  
There are no dreams of the man-  
aging editor's office or a place on  
the editorial board, just the  
gorgeous life of watching  
baseball played seven months a  
year.

And so there are none of the  
horror stories Mr. Crouse recounts  
of cooked-out drudges inter-  
posing their ambition between  
the reader and what can be dis-  
cerned of the truth about the  
most important elective office in  
the world.

The last word is Mr. Crouse's.  
He closes his book with an  
account of the farewells at  
National Airport in Washington  
as the McGovern press corps dis-  
banded: "The reporters stood in  
little groups around their luggage,  
looking shipwrecked waiting to  
be picked up by their wives...  
It would be a good while before  
any of them would again discover  
the same irresistible combination  
of camaraderie, hardship and  
luxury. They now had to go back  
to paying the dues which would  
earn them another campaign in  
1976."



An airline should be big enough  
to have its own 747 maintenance facility  
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airlines have no facilities for  
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8,500 class hours!

But keeping our planes  
functioning perfectly is not our  
only job as an airline. Keeping  
our passengers happy is an  
important one, too. Particularly  
the children. We Portuguese  
have a special fondness for  
youngsters (our big families  
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TAP games and coloring books  
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"mother's helper" facilities for  
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ConEdB	43490	20	46	41%	Devoe	60490	39	71%	71
ConEdC	43490	20	46	41%	Devoe	60490	39	71%	71
ConEdD	43490	20	46	41%	Devoe	60490	39	71%	71
ConEdE	43490	20	46	41%	Devoe	60490	39	71%	71
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ConEdK	43490	20	46	41%	Devoe	60490	39	71%	71
ConEdL	43490	20	46	41%	Devoe	60490	39	71%	71
ConEdM	43490	20	46	41%	Devoe	60490	39	71%	71
ConEdN	43490	20	46	41%	Devoe	60490	39	71%	71
ConEdO	43490	20	46	41%	Devoe	60490	39	71%	71
ConEdP	43490	20	46	41%	Devoe	60490	39	71%	71
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is a major independent producer, refiner and marketer of petroleum products with extensive chemical, road construction and coal operations. Record fiscal 1973 results include: Revenues, \$2.35 billion, +15.4%; Net income, \$85.2 million, +25.2%; Per share earnings, \$3.37, +28.1%. Dividends, paid consecutively since 1936, were raised to \$1.30 per share and have since been increased to \$1.40.

**Canadian Silver-Gold Producer**  
With precious metal prices at or near their highest levels in history, Danokoe Mines Ltd. (N.P.L.) of Vancouver, B.C., has resumed production of silver and gold from the Company mine at Keremeos, British Columbia. Milling currently at 125 tons daily, the plant in that town of five years ore reserves in sight, averaging 7.8 ozs. silver and 0.033 oz. gold per ton, plus additional recoverable lead-zinc values. An aggressive exploration program is being launched to follow up encouraging preliminary findings along strike and down dip. Immediate objective is output of about 35,000 ozs. silver per month. Danokoe Mines Ltd. has 1,822,474 shares outstanding, listed on the Vancouver Stock Exchange (DKO).

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NCR is the world's second largest producer of general business equipment (1973 revenues: \$1.8 billion; net: \$72 million). Products include computer systems, electronic point-of-service terminals, financial terminals and other data entry products plus wide range of free-standing business equipment including cash registers and accounting machines. Also data center services, business forms and supplies. 1,200 offices in 120 countries. Worldwide employment is 81,000. 15

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ducts in the United States.

**UNITED INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION**

Record sales and earnings highlight 1973 operations. A diversified organization primarily engaged in hospital supplies and equipment, industrial coal stokers and municipal incinerators, plastic products, and Government Research & Development.

Our most promising potentials include the hospital market, special areas for solar energy heating, and the reconversion to coal by manufacturing plants.

Listed on N.Y. & Pac. Coast Exchanges      Symbol: **UIC**      **20**

See **STOCK OF THE WEEK** feature, *Mag. Record* of March 15, 1974.

One of the largest suppliers to the automotive industry, Worldwide markets. Products include automotive steel and plastic body components, chassis frames, wheel products, castings, prototype stampings, cold climate products, and exhaust system silencers. Budd also produces a wide range of highway trailers and container chassis, railway passenger cars and engineered plastics.

Chicago based, Diversey is a worldwide manufacturer and marketer of specialty chemical products and equipment used for cleaning and sanitation in the food processing, institutional food service and other industries and for metals treatment.

1973 sales (including 50% owned companies) \$87.5 million—up 17%. Earnings per share \$1.86—up 23%.

Shares listed American Stock Exchange, ticker symbol: "DIV"

**INTERPOOL LTD.,**  
one of the largest and fastest growing international container leasing and service organizations, provides intermodal cargo containers to many of the world's major shippers and shipping lines. With a network of more than 165 neutral pool points around the world at which pool members may pick up and drop off containers as needed, Interpool also manufactures containers and container handling equipment.

**Quebec Sturgeon River  
Mines Limited**

Currently engaged in underground development program at Bachelor Lake Area gold property in Quebec preparatory to production planning. Company has second gold property, Timmins Area, Ontario, where surface drilling has indicated gold bearing zone over strike length in excess of 2000 feet with underground program scheduled to commence early 1974. Shares listed Toronto Stock Exchange, ticker symbol "QSR", traded OTC in U.S.A.

**17**

**WUI INC.**

Operating revenues reached \$69,911,000 for the full year, resulting in a new high in earnings of \$5,929,000 or \$1.96 per share. This compares with operating revenues of \$63,641,000 and earnings of \$5,282,000 or \$1.72 per share in 1972 which had represented the company's previous peak. The company is not in any way affiliated with the Western Union Telegraph Company or its parent Western Union.

A leader in the health care market, Affiliated Hospital Products, Inc. has had a record high sales of \$32,501,000 in 1973. Net income rose 61%. Highly diversified, Affiliated Hospital Products, Inc. manufactures and distributes operating and obstetrical tables; disposable products, including surgeons' gloves, catheters, medical and dental hygiene; dermic needles; patient room furniture; exam room furniture, and stainless steel hospital equipment.

Symbol AFH - Listed on American Stock Exchange.

**AGNICO-EAGLE MINES LIMITED**  
Gold and silver producer. Gold mine at Jontel, Quebec, completed at a cost of \$15 million commenced operations in late 1973 as Canada's largest new mine. Initial design capacity 1.5 million tons daily to recover approximately 100,000 ozs. gold annually at full production rate. Silver division in Cobalt, Ontario, produced over one million ounces in 1973. Shares listed Toronto and Montreal Stock Exchanges; traded on New York Stock Exchange.

In 1973 Burroughs established new records for revenue and earnings, marking the tenth consecutive year of improved performance. This growth record was helped to make Burroughs a leader in the dynamic international computer industry.

Burroughs 1973 Annual Report includes a ten-year summary of the Company's financial performance and details major reasons including a broad range of advanced products, a worldwide organization, and high-caliber personnel.

Available in French, Spanish

ighly diversified utility and manufac-  
enterprise participating in two of  
s fastest growing industries—com-  
ications and electronics. Since 1955  
ings per share have increased 45%  
and over the past ten years ex-  
s 500 Index. During this period  
ends have doubled, increasing 100%  
in 1963 to the current indicated  
rate of \$172 per share.

**MAPCO Inc.**  
MAPCO is an integrated oil and pollution control company. It produces and markets oil, gas, liquids, coal and liquid plant by its pipeline system is a major link in the transportation of LPG and hydrous ammonia.

MAPCO had sales of \$40 million in 1963 and earned 16¢ per share. In 1973, sales were \$145 million, earnings \$1.05 a share. That's a compounded growth rate of 17% over the 10 years!

MAPCO's still working to 9

## REYNOLDS SECURITIES Inc.

At year end, Reynolds Securities has 65 offices, of which 10 were opened in 1973, including two at Swiss locations. Last year, in fact, RSI had more money on new offices than any two previous years in its history. "Expand in bad times; cut back in times are good" has been the firm's basic operating tenet for 43 years.

**WORK WEAR CORPORATION**

Work Wear Corporation, in its year, operates industrial laundry garment rental facilities and its factories work clothes, uniforms, Career Apparel and disposable district and medical garments, gical packs and other dress products. Prime markets are the industrial, transport, hospital/medical, food and food and commercial fields. The Company has facilities throughout United States, in Canada, Belg



















# Little Current Takes Preakness

By Joe Nichols

**PHILADELPHIA, May 19 (UPI)—**Little Current, a 3-year-old colt, flashed along on the inside to score a sparkling victory in the 33rd running of the Preakness Stakes at Pimlico today.

The Kentucky-bred colt, owned by John G. Mott, Jr., and trained by John G. Mott, Jr., won the race by a margin of 1 1/2 lengths over longshot Miguel Rivera, who was the favorite.

Current was pretty much in the lead from the start, and he never looked back. He won the race in 1:54.0, the fastest time in the history of the race.

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on the basis of his score in the Kentucky Derby. Although the favorite was only third, a length back of Neopolitan Way, he offered the best of a \$4 return to show. That price was made possible by Neopolitan Way's return of \$22 place and \$10 show. Heriberto Hernandez rode Neopolitan Way and Angel Cordero rode Cannonade.

## Rivera Finds Shortest Way Home



Mrs. John Galbreath gets victory kiss from Miguel Rivera.

### Dankaro Wins at Longchamp

## The Horse to Beat in France Proves It 3d Straight Time

By Bernard Kirsch

**PARIS, May 19 (UPI)—**French trainer Roger Poincelot, a possessor of a horse named Dankaro, proved it was the horse to beat in France by winning the 1,000 Guineas at Longchamp today.

Dankaro, a muscular 3-year-old colt, used his long stride to win the \$150,000 Prix Lupin. It was the horse's third straight victory, and the third time Gerard Rivasse has been his jockey. But the only reason Poincelot lets someone else on his horse is because he has retired from riding.

During his long career as a jockey, Poincelot established a reputation as France's best. Year after year, he rode the most winners, until age caught up with him. Now 45, he is a trainer—a career which has been more trying than riding. Along came Dankaro, and Poincelot won't let him out of his sight.

In the mornings, when most trainers give their exercise boys instructions on how to handle their horses, Poincelot refuses to let anyone get up on Dankaro except himself. The extra work didn't bother Poincelot today—nor did it seem to annoy Dankaro, who had to go all out to win by half a length at Longchamp. After watching his horse win for the third time today, the last two on television replays, Poincelot smiled and said, "He's the one who makes me work in the morning."

The horse which extended Dankaro's record in this 2,100-meter (about a mile and three-eighths) race, which displayed most of France's better 3-year-olds, was Mississippian, who led at the top of the stretch. Rivasse, not wanting Mississippian to grab too big a lead, made his move on Dankaro with 300 meters left and suddenly Poincelot was sorry he was not still a jockey.

"Too soon, too soon," he said while watching the TV. "It was an excellent ride until the end. He should have waited a little longer." But the only damage the premature move did was throw a scare into Poincelot. Third place went to Poincelot.

### 10-1 Irish Colt 1st In 2,000-Guineas Curragh Classic

**CURRAGH, Ireland, May 19 (Reuters)—**Irish colt Purry Glen brought off a 10-1 surprise victory in the Irish 2,000-Guineas Classic here today.

American-bred Cellini, hot favorite at 11-10 after winning his previous five races, was third. He was a head and three lengths behind Purry Glen and English-trained Pitcairn, who was second in a photo finish to the mile race.

Purry Glen won \$24,068 (\$60,170) for owner P. McGrath. It was a family triumph, with George McGrath riding the colt, who is trained by Seamus McGrath.

Gally, an American-bred filly owned by Sir Michael Sobell and trained in England by Bill Herr, won the Irish 1,600 Guineas and a purse of \$219,041 (\$448,502).

### Portland of NBA Loses Its Coach

**NEW YORK, May 19 (UPI)—**Jack McCloskey, the Portland basketball coach, has resigned just as Bill Walton the UCLA 6-foot-11-inch center, will be coming on the scene, hopefully to right all of the Trail Blazers' wrongs of the last four seasons.

"Irreconcilable differences" was the terse 48-year-old McCloskey's reason for resigning.

The success of Little Current, who was trained by Lou Rondinello of Harrison, N.Y., certainly clouds the picture on 3-year-olds, and, of course, erased the possibility of a Triple Crown winner this year.

It has been estimated that of more than 30 important stakes races for 3-year-olds this year, only two or three horses have scored in more than one. The next step for Little Current, according to Rondinello, is the Belmont Stakes, the 1 1/2-mile event that rounds out the Triple Crown, at Belmont Park on June 8.

Little Current's achievement was electrifying, indeed, since he had to come "from nowhere" to score. He was completely out of the picture most of the way, running as far back as 10th before the field hit the stretch.

In the closing phase, Jolly John, another long shot, clung to the lead. Destroyer was second and Cannonade third.

Seemed Foregone

Then, approaching the wire, Cannonade managed to go ahead and the outcome seemed foregone. But with the favorite being challenged by Neopolitan Way, who ultimately prevailed over him, Little Current began to move. He skinned along on the inside in a breathtaking manner, and easily slipped away from the others.

Jolly John finished in fourth position. Among the better recorded rivals that Jolly John best were Her to the Line, sixth; J. A. Pet, seventh; Hudson County, eighth; and Rube the Great, ninth. The fractional times, which were set by a succession of contestants, were: 0:23, 0:47, 1:10 3/5 and 1:35 2/5.

There was one mishap when Buck's Bid—half of a mutual field, together with K. R. Run—lost his rider, Don MacBeth, at the start.

The last four horses were Silver Florin, Destroyer, All Game and Buck's Bid, in that order.

**CHICAGO, May 19 (UPI)—**Angel Mangual's first career grand-slam homer highlighted a five-run outburst in the first inning today and the Oakland A's went on to trounce the Chicago White Sox, 5-3.

Mangual, who collected four straight hits last night, drove in his fifth run on an infield out in the third inning.

Oakland manager Alvin Dark inserted Paul Lindblad in the White Sox ninth and the Oakland Southpaw gave up a three-run homer to Brian Downing, his fifth of the year. Chicago's Stan Bahnsen, who threw 45 pitches in the two innings he worked, walked the bases loaded. A walk to Pat Bourque forced in Bill North, Mangual then stroked a 2-1 pitch into the first row of the right-field stands for his first homer of the year.

Bahnsen gave up a double to Reggie Jackson and walked Gene Tenace in the third before being replaced by Ken Tafum. Bourque then singled home Jackson and Tenace scored on Mangual's force play.

**Red Sox 11, Orioles 2**

At Baltimore, Rico Petrocelli led Boston's 17-hit parade with a single as the Red Sox beat the Orioles, 11-2, in the first game of a doubleheader behind pitcher Reggie Cleveland.

The Orioles established a club record for shabby fielding by committing six errors in the last four innings and losing pitcher Dave McNally was blamed in favor of reliever Don Hood.

Bernie Carro, Dwight Eason and Mario Gutierrez each drove in a pair of Red Sox runs. Boston enjoyed a three-run second inning and a three-run sixth inning. Centerfielder Juan Beniquez added two doubles and a single to the attack and Carl Yastrzemski had three singles.

**Yankees 6, Brewers 2**

At Milwaukee, Lou Piniella drove in three runs on a four-run seventh inning that generated a 6-2 victory for New York over the Brewers in the first game of a doubleheader.

The score was tied, 1-1, when Graig Nettles opened the seventh with a single to left and continued to second when the ball bounced past Johnny Briggs for an error. Chris Chambliss then singled to put New York ahead, 2-1. Rick Dempsey followed with a double and Jim Ray Hart walked to lead the bases. Piniella then cracked a two out double to the leftfield wall, making it 5-1.

**Angels 4, Twins 2**

At Bloomington, Paul Schaal's two-run single was the big hit in a four-run eighth inning which gave California and Nolan Ryan a 4-2 victory over Minnesota in the first game of a doubleheader.

Minnesota's Bert Blyleven was coming with a 2-0 lead entering the eighth when the Angels scored their runs on three hits, a walk, a hit batsman and an infield out. Bobby Valentine singled home a run and Tom McCraw sent another home by grounding out to first base.

Minnesota got two runs in the fifth inning when Eric Soderholm doubled and scored on a single by Glenn Borgmann. Borgmann then scored on Rod Carew's infield single. Carew, the American League batting leader, was 3-for-3 in the game.

**Indians 2, Tigers 1**

At Cleveland, Gaylord Perry tossed a two-hitter and Jack Brohamer belted a two-run homer to pace the Indians to a 2-1 victory over Detroit in the first game of a doubleheader.

Perry, who has now won six straight after losing to the New York Yankees on opening day, struck out 11 and walked four in helping snap a three-game Cleveland losing streak. The veteran right-hander gave up a single to Gary Sutherland in the first and a single to pinch-hitter Gates Brown in the eighth. He lost his shutout bid in the fifth when he walked the bases full and Aurelio Rodriguez hit a sacrifice fly.

**Rangers 3, Royals 3**

At Kansas City, Jeff Burroughs drove in four runs to propel Texas to an 8-3 victory over the Royals.

Burroughs drove in a run in the first after Cesar Tovar reached base on an error and moved to second on a walk to Toby Hall. Next, Alex Johnson hit into a double play and Tovar moved to third, scoring on Burroughs' single.

Burroughs singled again with two out in the third, moved to second on a Tom Grieve single and scored on a single by Lenny Randle.

Cookie Rojas and Amos Otis drove in the tying runs in the third, knocking out starter David Clyde.

**Expos 7, Mets 3**

**Expos 5, Mets 0**

In the National League, at New York, Bob Bailey drove in three runs with two singles and a sacrifice fly and Ernie McCollum hit a four-hit night to lead Montreal to a 5-0 victory over the Mets in the nightcap of their first doubleheader sweep of the season.

In the opener, the Expos spotted the Mets leads of 2-0 and 3-1 before taking the lead for good in the fifth on Ken Singleton's two-out double to right, to score a 7-3 triumph.

**Reds 7, Astros 1**

At Houston, southpaw Don Gullett overpowered the Astros by striking out 10 batters and allowing five hits for his fourth victory of the season, a 7-1 victory for Cincinnati, which gave the Astros their ninth straight loss.

Only Lee May's solo homer in the fourth inning ruined Gullett's shutout bid. Gullett, now 4-3, also got his first complete game of the year.

**Giants 8, Padres 2**

At San Francisco, Bobby Bonds and Ed Gooden each drove in three runs and Mike Caldwell won the distance for his seventh victory in leading the Giants to an 8-2 triumph over San Diego in the first game of a doubleheader.

Bonds had a homer, a triple and a single as the Giants piled up 14 hits off four pitchers.



DRIVING HOME—Little Current leads the pack in the Preakness Stakes home stretch.

## Sunday: Mangual Grand Slam Beats White Sox

committing six errors in the last four innings and losing pitcher Dave McNally was blamed in favor of reliever Don Hood.

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## Saturday: Dodgers Edge Braves, 1-0, in 13th Inning

**LOS ANGELES, May 19 (UPI)—**Steve Garvey's two-out single in the 13th inning yesterday drove in Dave Lopes to break up a scoreless pitching duel and give the Los Angeles Dodgers a 1-0 victory over the Atlanta Braves.

Lopes led off the 13th with a single for his second hit and advanced on successive groundouts before Garvey hit a shallow single into rightfield to score the winning run.

The victory went to Charlie Hough, who hurled one inning in relief to make his record 4-1. Lew Krause, making his second appearance in the two days he has been with the Braves since being called up from Tucson of the Pacific Coast League, was the losing pitcher.

**Cardinals 11, Cubs 2**

At St. Louis, Ted Sizemore and Bake McBride each hit two-run homers as the Cardinals beat Chicago 11-2.

The Cardinals tied with the Philadelphia Phillies for first place in the East Division of the National League, hammered starter Rick Reuschel who had allowed only eight hits and one walk in his last two starts, for six hits and six runs before Jim Krummel relieved Reuschel's record is now 3-2.

**Giants 4, Padres 2**

At San Francisco, Mike Phillips, filling in at shortstop for the injured Chris Speier, hit a three-run homer in the bottom of the eighth, lifting the Giants to a 4-2 victory over San Diego.

Fourth-inning back-to-back homers by Nate Colbert and Willie McCovey staked Steve Arlin to a 2-1 lead before the Giants rallied in the eighth.

**Mets 6, Expos 0**

At New York, Jon Matlack pitched a four-hit shutout and Rusty Staub drove in a pair of runs to lead the Mets to a 6-0 victory over Montreal.

It was the Mets' seventh victory in their last nine games and moved them to within one game of third-place Montreal, which has lost 12 of its last 17.

Matlack struck out nine and walked four in boosting his record to 5-1.

**Phillies 9, Pirates 2**

At Pittsburgh, Mike Schmidt hit a two-run homer and Del Unser followed, several batters later, with a three-run blast to cap a seven-run sixth inning.

giving Philadelphia a 9-2 victory over the Pirates.

The victory, which went to right-hander Ron Schuler, 2-3, kept the Phillies in at least a tie for first place in the National League East.

**Reds 7, Astros 1**

At Houston, Johnny Bench's three-run homer in the seventh inning carried Cincinnati to a 7-1 victory over the Astros.

**White Sox, 3, A's 2**

In the American League, at Chicago, rookie Buckey Dent's three-run triple capped a four-run fourth inning and spoiled a 10-strikeout performance by Vida Blue, lifting the White Sox to a 3-2 victory over Oakland.

Bill Moran picked up his first major league victory on the strength of the three-run fourth and relief specialist Terry Foster preserved the decision.

**Tigers 3, Indians 2**

At Cleveland, John Knox singled home Eddie Brinkman with the winning run in the seventh inning and Mickey Lolich won his third victory by tossing a five-hitter to pace Detroit to a 3-2 victory over the Indians.

The Tigers, who trailed 2-1 after six innings, chased Cleveland starter Rick Reuschel who had allowed only eight hits and one walk in his last two starts, for six hits and six runs before Jim Krummel relieved Reuschel's record is now 3-2.

**Twins 10, Angels 4**

At Bloomington, American League batting leader Rod Carew drove in three runs in a 17-hit Minnesota attack to highlight the Twins' 10-4 victory over California.

The Twins broke a 1-1 tie with three runs in the second inning.

**Amvot Triumphs In Bavarian Trot**

**MUNICH, May 19 (UPI)—**The French stallion Amvot, with Michel Marcel Gougouin in the sulky, won the 125,000-mark (\$51,000) Grand Prix of Bavaria trotting race.

The winner carried home a start-to-finish victory



